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791 of fir-wood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the
787 milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators, who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered, and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise, and the wizard rushes about in the circle which is formed round him and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians, who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, etc. The people believe that in ancient times these Dayalls invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent, which is considered its own reward.

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173 There are few legends[1] so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin, or rather the rise, of Gilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan, are unknown to, at any rate, the Shiná race, excepting in so far as any Munshi accompanying the Maharajah's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to them in conversation with a Shin. Any such information would have been derived from the Sikandarnama of Nizámi, and would, therefore, possess no original value. There exist no ruins, as far as I have gone, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shin people, whether they be Chilasis, Astoris, Gilgitis, or Brokhpá (the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltis in Little Tibet), but which also an annual festival commemorates, is not devoid of interest from either a historical or a purely literary point of view.

[1] [For text see category 539, pp. 9-14.--Analyst]

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of a lower class) is a true friend who rises and falls with one's own fortune" (it being the custom for a scion of a noble house to be given out to a nurse.)

The dynasty of Chitrál is said to have been established by Baba Ayub, an adventurer of Khorassan. He adopted the already existing name of *Katór*, whence the dynasty is called Katoré. The Emperor Baber refers to the country of Katór in his Memoirs and a still more ancient origin has been found in identifying Katór with "Kitolo, the King of the Great Yuechi, who, in the beginning of the 5th century, conquered Balkh and Gandhara, and whose son established the Kingdom of the Little Yuechi, at Peshawur." (See Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," page 148.) General Cunningham asserts that the King of Chitrál takes the title of Shah Kator, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian Kings in the Kabul valley. If Katór is a corruption of Kaisar, then let it not be said that the remnant of the Katoré exclaimed with the Roman gladiator: "Ave, Kaisar-i-Hind, morituri te salutant."

Amán-ul-Mulk, the late ruler of Chitrál, was, indeed, a terrible man, who to extraordinary courage joined the arts of the diplomatist. He succeeded his elder brother, surnamed Adam-Khôr or "man-eater." His younger brother, Mir Afzul, is said to have been killed by him or to have committed a convenient suicide; another brother, Sher Afzul, who is now in possession of Chitrál, was long a fugitive in Badakhshan whence he has just returned with a few Afghans (such as any pretender can ever collect) and a hundred of the Chitráli slaves that used to be given in tribute to the Mir of Badakhshan, which itself never paid a tribute to Kabul before the late Sher Ali of Afghanistan installed Mahmud Shah, who expelled his predecessor Jehandar Shah, the friend of Abdur-Rahman, the present Amir of Afghanistan. Another brother of Aman-ul-Mulk

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•173 was Kokhan Beg, whose daughter married the celebrated Mullah Shahu Baba, a man of considerable influence in Bajaur, who is feared by the Badshah of Kunar (a feudatory of Kabul and a friend of the British) and is an enemy of the Kamôji Kafirs, that infest one of the roads to Chitrál. This Kokhan Beg, who was a maternal uncle of Afzul-ul-Mulk, was killed the other day by his brother Sher Afzul coming from Badakhshan. I mention all this, as in the troubles that are preparing, the ramifications of the interests of the various pretenders are a matter of importance. Other brothers of Aman-ul-Mulk are: Muhammad Ali (Moriki), Yádgar Beg, Shádman Beg and Bahádur Khán (all by a mother of lower degree), and another Bahádur Khán, who was on the Council of Nizám-ul-Mulk. Nizám-ul-Mulk has therefore to contend with one or more of his uncles, and by to-day's telegram* is on his way to the Chitrál Fort in order to expel Sher Afzul with the aid of the very troops that Sher Afzul had sent to turn out Afzul-ul-Mulk's Governor from Yasin. I believe that Nizám-ul-Mulk has or had two elder half-brothers, Gholam of Oyôn and Majid Dastagir of Drôshp; but, in any case, he was the eldest legitimate son and, according to Chitrál custom, was invested with the title of Badshah of Turikoh, the rule of which valley compelled his absence from Chitrál and not "his wicked and intriguing disposition" as alleged by certain Anglo-Indian journals. Of other brothers of Nizám-ul-Mulk was Shah Mulk (of lower birth), who was Governor of Daraung and was killed by Afzul-ul-Mulk. He used to live at Dros (near Pathan in Shashi). Afz l-ul-Mulk of Drasun, whom we have already mentioned as a wholesale fratricide, was killed in his flight to one of the towers of the Chitrál Fort from the invading force of his uncle, Sher Afzul of Badakhshan. A younger half-brother is also Behram-ul-Mulk (by a lower mother), called "Vilâyeti," of Morei in Andarti. Other brothers are: Amin-ul-Mulk, a brother of good birth of Oyôn (Shoghôt), who was reared by a woman of the Zondré or highest class; Wazir-ul-Mulk (of low

* *Times*, 5th December, 1892.

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birth) of Brôz; Abdur-Rahman (low-born) at Owir (Bar-pèah), and Badshah-i-Mulk, also of Owir, who was reared by the wife of Fath-Ali Shah. There are no doubt other brothers also whose names I do not know. Murid, who was killed by Sher Afzul, is also an illegitimate brother.

A few words regarding the places mentioned in recent telegrams may be interesting: Shogôth is the name of a village, of a fort, and of a district which is the north-western part of Chitrál, and it also comprises the Ludkho and tributary valleys. Through the district is the road leading to the Dara and Nuqsán passes, to the right and left respectively, at the bottom of which is a lake on which official toadyism has inflicted the name of Dufferin in supersession of the local name. Darushp (Drôshp) is another big village in this district and in the Ludkho valley, and Andarti is a Fort in it within a mile of the Kafir frontier. The inhabitants of Shogôth are descendants of Munjanis, whose dialect (Yidgah) I refer to elsewhere, and chiefly profess to be Shiahs, in consequence of which they have been largely exported as slaves by their Sunni rulers. Baidam Khan, a natural son of Aman-ul-Mulk, was the ruler of it. The Ludkho valley is traversed by the Arkari river which falls into that of Chitrál. At the head of the Arkari valley are three passes over the Hindukhush, including the evil-omened "Nuqsán," which leads to Zeibak, the home of the heretical Maulais (co-religionists of the Assassins of the Crusades) in Badakhshán. It is shorter, more direct, and freer from Kafir raids than the longer and easier Dora pass. *Owir* is a village of 100 houses on the Arkari river, and is about 36 miles from Zeibak. *Drasan* is both the name of a large village and of a fort which commands the Turikoh valley, a subdivision of the Drasan District, which is the seat of the heir-apparent to the Chitrál throne (Nizám-ul-Mulk). Yet the *Pioneer*, in its issue of the 5th October last, considers that Lord Lansdowne had settled the question of succession in favour of Afzul-ul-Mulk, that Nizám-ul-Mulk would thus be driven to seek Russian aid, but that

3: Leitner L-3 (1868-92) 1887 AVS Dard AVS

under a huge stone which projects from the base of the Niludâr range on the Gilgit side.

There were formerly seven forts at Tshamûgar. A convention had been made between the Rajah of Gilgit and the Rajah of Skardo, by which Tshamûgar was divided by the two according to the natural division which a stream that comes down from the Buldr mountain made in that territory. The people of Tshamûgar, impatient of the Skardo rule, became all of them subjects to the Gilgit Rajah, on which Sher Shah Ali Shah, the ruler of Skardo, collected an army, and crossing the Makpon-i-shagaron* at the foot of the Haramûsh mountain, came upon Tshamûgar and diverted the water which ran through that district into another direction. This was the reason of the once fertile Tshamûgar becoming deserted; the forts were razed to the ground. There are evidently traces of a river having formerly run through Tshamûgar. The people say that the Skardo Rajah stopped the flow of the water by throwing quicksilver into it. This is probably a legend arising from the reputation which Ahmad Shah, the most recent Skardo ruler whom the Guraisis can remember, had of dabbling in medicine and sorcery.†

CHILASI SONGS.

[The Chilasis have a curious way of snapping their fingers, with which practice they accompany their songs, the thumb running up and down the fingers as on a musical instrument.]

10. CHILASI.

Tû hûn Gîtshere bôdje shomno dimnâ bamkin
Mèy shahûni pashalôto dewâ sulkin dôrte
Rás; Aje gôje bômto mèy dûddi aje mush
Hargion Zôe dèy mo bejômos
Samat Khânay sôni mô bâshômon tonâk
Mûugà deyto; mô dabtar dîm

* The defile of the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, where the Indus river makes a sudden turn southward and below which it receives the Gilgit river.

† The Shiah Rajahs of Skardo believed themselves to be under the special protection of Ali.

GENEALOGIES AND HISTORY OF DARDISTAN.

173 I do not propose to do more in this place than give the roughest outline of this subject, as sketched in 1866 and 1870, and now rapidly brought up to date. My reason is to prevent those falsifications of History which are inevitable when a conqueror annexes a new country and the other is naturally becomes his first friends, and fabricates their family tree. Therefore, with all its errors, which subsequent enquiries have corrected, there is an element of actuality in the following accounts gathered from Dards in 1866, the value of which will become apparent when I write the history of the events that are drawing Dardistan into the constantly range of European influences and politics:

GENEALOGY OF THE GILGIT, YASIN, CHITRAL, NAGYR, HUNZA, AND OTHER DYNASTIES SINCE 1800.

I.—GILGIT ... ... German Khan (1800), hereditary ruler of Gilgit, whose dynasty he traced to the daughter of Gesharkun, the last, known mythical, pre-Mohammedan Raja of Gilgit. Killed in 1810 by Suleyman Shah of Yasin.

Raja Khan (?) died 1814.

Muhammad Khan reigned till 1846 and is killed by Suleyman Shah of Yasin.

Akbar Ali, killed in 1873 by Suleyman Shah.

Asghar Ali killed on his flight to Nagyr by Suleyman Shah.

Nasser Ali Khan,
(the rightful Raja of Gilgit, probably still a prisoner in Srinagar).

1852—Azad Shah, Raja of Gakuch, appointed ruler of Gilgit by Suleyman Shah whom he kills in 1852.
Yasin Shah of Nagyr conquers Gilgit in 1860 and kills Azad.

Sikandar Khan, killed by Gauhar Aman of Yasin, in 1864.

Karim Khan, (Raja of Gilt), (calls in Kashmir troops under Nadir Shah in 1842) was killed in 1848 in Hunza.

Suleyman Khan.

Muhammad Khan died in 1872 when on a visit to Srinagar.

Suleyman Khan.

Ashan Muhammad.

Rustam Khan.

Abdul Khan (son of Muhammad Khan's sister).

Ghulam Haydar.

II.—YASIN DYNASTY. It is said that both the Yasin and the Chitral dynasties are descended from a common ancestor "Kathir." The Gilgits call the Yasinis "Purpuk" and the Chitralis "Kamoz."

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173 *Khushvakht* (?) died 1800 (?) from whom the present dynasty derives the name of "Khushwakhtia." [A Raja of that name and dignity often met me at Srinagar in 1886.]

He had two sons, *Sulaymán Sháh and Malik Amán Sháh.* The former died about 1825 and left four sons and a daughter whom he married to Chanzáfar, the Rajah of Hunza. The names of the sons are Azmat Shah, the eldest, Ahmad Shah, Rahim Khan and Zarmast Khan.

Malik Amán Sháh was the father of seven or, as some say, of ten sons, the most famous of whom was GAZNFAR AMAN, surnamed "Adam farosh" (the man-seller) the third son. The names of the sons are: Khudá Amán, Dadá Amán, Gauhar Amán, Khalil Amán, Akbar Amán (who was killed by his nephew Malik Amán, eldest son of his brother Gauhar-Amán); Isa BAHADUR (son of Malik Amán Shah by a concubine), Gulábar, Mahmúr Sukhi, Bahadur Khan (who was murdered) and Mir Amán (?) of Mastuch (?).

Gauhar Amán left seven sons: MALIK AMÁN (also called Mir Kamma? now in Tongir?) Bahadur Amán, murdered by Lachan Singh, MIR VALI (who killed Shaywani), Mir Ghází, PARIWAR (who killed Mir Vali), Khan Ghazan and Shujáyat Khan. [The Khushwakhtia Dynasty has since been dispossessed by the kindred dynasty of Chitrál in 1880.]

III.—CHITRAL OR "SHAH KATHORIA" DYNASTY.

SHAH KATHOR, the son of Shah Afzal, (who died about 1800) was a soldier of fortune who dispossessed the former ruler, whose grandson, Vigne saw in the service of Ahmad Shah, the independent ruler of Little Tibet in 1835. Cunningham considers that the name of Kathór is a title that has been borne by the rulers of Chitrál for 2,000 years.

Shah Kathor had a brother, Sarbaland Khan, whose descendants do not concern us, and four sons and a daughter married to Gauhar Amán of Yasin. The names of the sons were: *Shah Afzal* (who died in 1858), Tajammul Shah who was killed in 1819 by his nephew Adam-khar—or man-eater—(so called from his murderous disposition; his real name was Mahtarim Shah), Ghazan Shah (who died a natural death) and Alexiah (who was killed). The murdered Tajammul Shah left two sons namely Malik Shah (who revenged his father's death by killing Adam Khán), and Sayad Ali Shah.

Shah Afzal left AMÍR-UL-MULK, his eldest son, the present ruler of Chitrál [1872] Adam-khán (who usurped the rule for a time); Kathór Beg, ruler of Dir; a daughter whom he married to Rahmat-ulla Khan, chief of Dir; Muhammad Ali Beg; Valyat Beg; Bahadur Khan; and another daughter whom Gauhar-Aman married as well as Shah Afzal's sister and had Pahlwan by her.

Amán-ul-Mulk married a daughter of the late Ghazan Khan, chief of Dir, by whom he had Sardar [illegible] eldest son), also called Nizam-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk's other sons are Mahtab and others whose names will be found elsewhere. One of his daughters is married to Iskandar Shah, the former ruler of Badakhshán and the other to the son of the present Chief, Mir Mahmud Shah. [Full details are given elsewhere of the Yasin-Chitrál house.]

IV.—The names of the principal chiefs of the Chilhás and of the Yaghistanis (the independent Hill tribes of Dardi, Shiltis, Tangir, etc.

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have already been given in my "history" of their "Wars with Kashmir." Just as in Chilás and Kandiá, the administration is in the hands of a Board of Elders. The Maharaja of Kashmir only obtains tribute from three villages in Chilas, viz., the villages of Chilás, Takk and Bundar.

V.—NAGYR,* [is tributary to Ahmad Shah of Little Tibet about the beginning of this century, but soon throws off this allegiance to Ahmad Shah under Alif Khan.] (?) ... ...

[See "Historical Legend of the Origin of Gilgit," pages 9 to 16. The Nagyr-Hunza Rajas or Thams similarly claim a divine origin and account for it through the two fairy-brothers who disappeared at Gilgit. See note on page 111.]

Alif Khan. 1800 (?)

Raja Za'fir Khan Záhid (the present Raja of Nagyr).

Son (a hostage for his father's adhesion to Kashmir, whom I saw at Gilgit in 1866). The names of his maternal uncles are Shah Iskandar and Raja Karim Khan (?) the elder brother. (The full genealogy of Hunza-Nagyr is given elsewhere.)

[* "Nagyr," which Col. Biddulph very properly writes "Nagar" (like "Pamir") is now spelt "Nagar," so as to confound it with the Indian "Nagar" for "town," from which it is quite different.]

VI.—HUNZA ... ... Ghazanfar, died 1865.

Ghazan Khan, present ruler.† (1866)

VII.—BADAKHSHAN ... ... *Sahibe Shah.*

Rajeb Shah. | Mirza Kalán.

Ahmad Shah.

Nizam-ud-dow (surnamed Mir Shah). | Yusuf Ali Khan. | Saad-ulla Khan.

Rahmat Shah. | Shah Ibrahim Khan. | Mahmud Shah [1872] (present ruler of Badakhshan under Kabul) stayed a long time with his maternal uncle, the ruler of Kunduz, whence he has often been miscalled "a Sayad from Kunduz."

Shujá-ul Mulk. | Jehandar Shah, the former ruler, independent of Kabul (now (1872) a fugitive; infests the Kolab road). | Suleyman Shah. | Shahzada Hasan. | Abdulla Khan (by a concubine).

Yusuf Ali Khan had seven sons: Mirza Kalán, surnamed Mir Jan; Hazrat Jan; Ismail Khan; Akbar Khan; Umr Khan, Sultan Shah; Abdurrahim Khan (by a concubine).

Saad-ulla Khan had two sons: Baba Khan and Mahmud Khán (by a concubine).

* Only so much has been mentioned of the Genealogies of the rulers of Nagyr, Hunza, and Yasin, as belongs to this portion of my account of Dardistan.

† Full details of the sons and successors of Ghazan Khan, Safdar Ali Khan, to the present vassal of the Kashmir (Anglo-Indian) Government, Muhammad Nazim Khan, the fugitive Safdar Ali Khan's half-brother, are given elsewhere.

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000 Besides, if we touch the independence of these various republics *en route*, we shall constantly be in a hornets' nest, and provoke the coalition of the Dard with the Pathan or Afghan irreconcilable tribes, whereas, by keeping to the Kashmir route or, at least, confining ourselves to the Kaghan-Chilás road, and prohibiting our men from going to the right or to the left of it, we may yet resume friendly relations with the harmless and religious Chilásis and keep the road open for the eventual advance of Russian troops! In the meanwhile, let us not destroy villages inhabited by hereditary genealogists, who, before our advent, were the living historians of an irrecoverable portion of, perhaps, the earliest Aryan settlements.

I.—STRUGGLES FOR THE CONQUEST OF CHILAS.

● 173 "About twenty-three years ago there was a very strong fort at Chilás. Two years before the outbreak of the wars, a man named Lassu came [on the part of Kashmír?] to the frontier of Chilás. This man's ancestors had been in the service of the Dogras and for ninety years had possessed property and the Sirdarship at Goré (?) (probably Guraiz) in the family. It is not known why or whether he was dismissed the Kashmír service, but he came with his family in 1847 to Chilás and became the cause of all the subsequent disturbances. This man had been renowned for bravery in his youth, but when he came was old and feeble, though full of intrigue. In the valley of Marungá is a place called Neyátt, where he established himself with about twenty families of Kashmíris and others, who had followed him from Guraiz. His two brothers were also with him. Where he fixed his residence there is—at some distance below—a village of the name of Gósher, inhabited by the people of Takk. The valley is called Karúngá at its exit. In these two years he cultivated his fields and the friendship of the Chilásis. Purchasing also cattle and horses he became a great chief, to whom the Chilásis used to pay visits of ceremony. He also used constantly to visit them, and when he had acquired a decisive influence, he assembled all the Lumberdars of Chilás and said, "What a pity that Astór being so near, whose inhabitants are all Shiahs, you should not attack them according to the Shera' [religious Law]." The ignorant Chilásis then began to go on plundering excursions in the direction of Astor, which were often successful. When the Governor of Astór became unable to resist these attacks, he requested the assistance of the Maharaja of Kashmír, who refused it to him, but himself advanced direct on Chilás with an army. (In this war I was present for about a month.) One day a battle began in the early morning and lasted till the evening. The Maharaja's army drove us right into the Chilás Fort. We sent off men at once in all directions for help. For two days there was no other engagement. On the 3rd day came allies of the valley of Gine, from Darél, Jalkôt, Takk and Torr, Harbánn, Shatiál, Sazín, Hudúr, Kóli, and 200 Tangíris (we were in all about 20 "thousand" men, women and children, in that great fort*). They poured in all day, and by evening the struggle was renewed in which, as I saw myself, women took part. As the Sikhs were pressing on to the walls, the

* The word "Thousand" may only stand for 400, as explained elsewhere.

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173 women threw bedsteads and planks on their heads; stones and kitchen-utensils were also used. The result was not decisive. A stream was flowing into the fort in which we had four reservoirs kept filled in case of need. Hêmur, a brave man, whose son Sadur is now a Chief, a Yashkunn,* sat there giving a pumpkin full of water (about half a pint) to a man during the day and a pint at night, as it was more quiet then. There was a row of men stationed handing the gourd in and out and taking care that nobody got more than his share. Often we went without food for two days. The Chilási women cooked and cast bullets—the other women chiefly fought. The besiegers diverted the stream from the fort into the valley. We then drank the water of the reservoirs. This lasted for a month. We only lost in killed about three or four a day, as we fought behind cover. The enemy lost from 80 to 120 a day as they were in the open plain. When their provisions failed and supplies did not reach them, they retired with the loss of a third of their army, their treasury and goods. (300 women were appointed for the purpose of working and casting bullets all day.) In the day time we used to exchange shots—at night we would attack their camp, when they were tired or asleep. The walls were loopholed for the guns, and altogether the management of the affair was very good. We looted 100 mule-loads of powder: as much of lead, 40 tents—100 beds (charpoys), 2 boxes filled with money (Chilkis†)—50 sound muskets and 150 injured muskets,—120 brass kettles—50 brass jugs—200 sheets and 400 brass gharras (pitchers)—100 shawls, good and bad—200 Chaplis (sandals)—20 chairs—5 loads of sticks—200 lances—200 bayonets—a heap of 100 swords—20 daggers—20 iron hammers, 130 tent pegs of iron and 800 of wood—2 big guns—3 field guns, and miscellaneous property too numerous and various to detail. Two days after the flight of the Dogras the people assembled and began to divide the spoil. We began by giving 10 Chilkis to each man, but it did not last for all; so, whoever got no money, took a gun, lance, tent, etc. The big guns were put into the fort. I was shot in the leg in that siege. We used to bury our dead in their clothes within two or three days of their death. The Sikhs also used to burn, and the besieging Muslims in their service to bury, the dead for some time. When, however, the casualties increased, the besiegers gave up attending to the dead. It was in the midst of summer; so the stench was very great and disease also spread in the Sikh camp. Seven days after the flight of the enemy, the tribes who had come to help left for their own places. The following is the list of the Sirdars killed in the siege: Deyûri Khan, a Shîn, one-eyed, Sirdar of Chilás; Hashm Shah, a Shîn, of Chilás; Nasr Ali Khan, a Yashkunn, of Chilás; Malik Faulád, a Yashkunn, of Harbenn. The following Sirdars survived: Rahmat Ulla, Shîn, Chilási; Akbari, Shîn, Lamberdar of Takk; Murad Shah, Yashkunn of Tòrr; Adam Shah, Yashkunn of Tòrr; Bahádur (Baghdúr) Shîn of Harbánn; Naik Numa, a Kamîn, Harbann; Faizulla Khan, Shîn, Harbann; Mard Shah, Kamîn of Shatiál; Shah Jehán, Kamîn of Shatiál; Malek

* For divisions of Dard castes see pages 62, 63.

† Of the value of ten annas each, then 1s. 3d.

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Nazr-ud-din, Shin of Sazin; Hajem Khan, Shin of Sazin; Lala Khan, Yashkkunn of Dareyl; Jeldár, Yashkkunn of Dareyl; Izzat, Shin of Phúgotsh (Dareyl); Rahmi, Shin of Samagiál in Dareyl; Matshar Khan (a great Sirdár) Shin, Samagial; Losin, Shin of Barzin; Mirza Khan, Shin, Barzin; Shah Merdán, Shin of Hudúr; Kazilbik, Yashkunn of Búder.

After a year had passed, the Chilasis and the Yaghistánis* assembled at Chilás with the intention of plundering Astór, whose Governors then was Jabr Khan and Wazir Gurbúnd, subjects of Kashmir and of the Shiah faith, and therefore fit objects for the attack of orthodox Mussulmans (Sunnis). We were in all about 108,000 Yaghistanis (the ideas of number are very vague in those countries—though not so vague as in Lughmáni where there is not a separate name for a number above 400, and the foreign appellation of *hazár* = 1,000 is the equivalent for 400. *Vide* Lughmáni and Kandiá Vocabularies in which numeration is by twenties). The Astóris were only 6,000, but we went in large numbers, as we counted on having to meet the Dogras of Kashmir.

The following is the List of the confederate Yaghistanis: From Koli, 1,000; Palus, 4,000; Jalkót, 3,000; Sazin, 500; Shatiál, 500; Harbann, 1,000; Takk, 1,000; Chilas, 3,000; Torr, 1,000; Tangir, 4,000; Dareyl, 10,000; Gôrdjan, 5,000 (probably Gôr); Gîne, 100; Búder, 100; Gormáni, 2,000 (probably auxiliaries from Gauhar-Amán, ruler of Yasin, popularly called Gôrmán); Gilgit, 5,000; Sai, 5,000.

(This only brings the allied Dard forces up to 48,200, perhaps only 19,000, as already explained. Since then the Dards have been more than decimated, and the destruction of Gilgit with all its traditions, etc., is one of the saddest results of the Kashmir frontier war. There are, however, Gilgit emigrants to be found in Sazin and other places.) We marched on to the mountains of Astor and Gauhar-Amán with 2,000 men stopped at Jalkôt (j as in French) in the Sái territory, 6 koss far. He told us that when the Dogras came up to assist Astor, he would at once advance with more troops to that place. When we came near Astor, the Governor was informed of our approach. Most of the Astoris fled, many leaving their property behind. The 6,000 fighting men remained; they had, however, sent most of their property away. The people of the Astor village, Dashkin, had not heard of our arrival; so we surprised it about midnight, killed 2 men and wounded 9—100 were captured (men and women). We took 80 cows, 500 goats, clothes to the value of 400 Rupees, 40 hatchets, 100 swords, and 100 muskets. Out of the house of the Wazir Gorbúnd we got 8 kettles. There are many Yashkunns at Astor, three-fourths being of that race and the remainder being half Shins and the other half Kamíns.† Our arrival at Astor was announced by a man whom with his companion we surprised seated at the bridge of Sugarkôt. A man of Shatiál killed the companion by throwing a stone at him; the other effected his escape and enabled the Astoris to get away with their property. The reason why we killed so few was because we wanted to make the people our slaves, either

* "Yaghistáni" means inhabitant of the "wild" or "independent" country.

† For Divisions of Dard Castes, see pages 62, 63.

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to keep or sell; being Kafirs their lives are forfeited to the Mussulmans, but it is harder on them to be slaves than die and therefore we prefer to enslave them. Besides it is more profitable. In the morning a rumour of the approach of the Maharajah's troops reached us. We were greatly surprised at this and retired on to Hashu Gher (probably the Atsho pîr, a very high mountain which overlooks Bunji, on the Kashmîr side of the Indus) by the Burderikôt road—a very difficult one—on the way to Chilás, which we reached only the 6th day after our retreat. We then divided the spoil. Some sold their slaves in Chilás. Most took them to their homes. We did not lose any one in killed or wounded on this excursion. Jabar Khan of Astor then went to the Maharaja as a suppliant—saying he and his people were children and subjects of Kashmîr and implored help against the marauders, who he urged, should themselves be attacked and punished. The Maharaja advised him to be quiet for a year, as he would then bring a large army. This was satisfactory for Jabar Khan, who was intent on revenge. In fact, 14 months later, when he and his minister with 60 men again presented themselves at Srinagar, in order to urge the fulfilment of the promise, 50,000 men (!!) were sent to Chilás. I was then at Minôr in the Gilgit territory, but my father and brother went into the war and it is from them that I have heard the following particulars. When the Sikh General (whose name I forget) reached the Kashmîr river [the Kishnganga (?)] he divided the Army into two parts—one to go by way of Guraiz, the other by the Darau valley which goes straight to Chilas and actually reached Takk. [From Takk there are 2 valleys—the one of Babuserr; the other of Marungâ.] The reason of the division of the forces was that the Kashmîr troops feared to trust their whole body into mountainous country where they might all be cut up. Two days before the enemy came, we were at Sîhil, below Takk, 1,000 strong. The Yaghistanis were collecting at Chilás, but most were still on the roads or starting from their homes. The news of the approach of the Maharajah's troops had also frightened away most of the tribes. Indeed there were only 500 besides the force at Sîhil. The following came: 100 from Sazîn, 200 from Harbàn, 40 from Chitrál, 60 from Dareyl, 40 from Jalkôt, 100 from Tangîr, 200 from Tórr, 40 from Hudûr, 200 from Takk, 100 from Bûder. 800 had collected in Gôr, but never came up, but were at Talpènn on the other side of the Indus, 4 kôs from Chilas. The following Chiefs came: Nazar Khan, Kasim and Masta Khan of Sazin. The 2 former were Shins, the other a Yashkunn. Ravîn, a Yashkunn of Shatial; Der Jihan, Kamin, of Shatial; Alangîr, Kamin, of Harbann; Tapa Khan, Kamin, of Harbann; Jeldar Mama and Sheithing of Dareyl, Shins; Ametî, Yashkunn, Jalkôt; Keremo, Shin, Khairulla, Yashkunn, Tangîr; Marat Shah Mama, Adam Shah, Great Sirdars of Torr, Shins; Shahmard Kaka and his brother of Hudûr, Shins; Akbari and Azâd, Kamins, of Takk; Kizilbîk of Bûder, Yashkúnn; Sadar Khan, Yashkúnn, Gôr; Wazîr Khan, Yashkúnn, Gôr: Ramanni, Yashkúnn, Gôr; Rahmat ulla Khan, Nasir Ali, and Hasham Shah, Yashkúnns, Chilás.

When the Sikh troops came to the bridge of Sîhil, it was 6 A.M. (before dawn). We were in ambush and rushed upon them sword in hand. There

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173 was great fighting till the evening—such as had never been before in Yaghistan. When night broke in, we were beaten and fled back into the mountains. Then two Sirdars, Ameti Khan and Ser Endáz Khan of Jalkót, rushed in alone on the army of the infidels and after killing some were cut down. Ameti's body fell into the water below the bridge and came up again after one month at Jalkót on the river side, where Jalkót is. A boatman of the name of Mehr Gul, came to the place but did not recognise the body. He told the villagers, who went out with Mira Khan, the uncle of Ameti, who had not gone to the wars as he was very old. Ameti's wife too went to the bank. Nobody recognised the corpse, when the wife knew him from his pijámas. He was buried and a shrine was built over his body, which is known by the name of the "shrine of the martyr." Ameti had said when about to charge the Sikhs that "if he should be killed his body would still get to Jalkôt and be buried there." Many Sirdars testify to this. During the night, the enemy sleeping from fatigue, Mulla Shemshêr, and Mulla Khandád and the Pir Padishah Mia, a great Sayad, rallied the Yaghistanis and told them of the advantage of assaulting the infidels at night, which was accounted as a twofold righteousness in this and the next world. When the Yaghis heard this Fatwa (authoritative manifesto) their courage increased and they attacked the enemy's camp in a body. Our men went on slashing at their heads and other limbs. It was winter and the blood clotted our hands and froze them to the sword hilts. Rustam and Afrasiab's wars would be forgotten as trifles, if I could describe the terrors of that night. The slaughter lasted all night. As the day approached and showed the smallness of our numbers we were again defeated and fled from Sihil to Chilás which is at the distance of 6 kôs (or about 9 miles). We were followed by the enemy. Whenever they came up to a suitable place, the fight was renewed and hundreds were killed. At Dasur, Matshuko-Jal and in the valley of Chilás, there being an open space, a stand was made, especially at the last place, which we reached at noon and kept our ground fighting till far into the night (10 o'clock). We were again defeated and fled into the fort, which was surrounded by the Maharajah's army. The following days and nights were occupied in constant fighting. The enemy again cut off the stream. Then the Yaghis again appointed Hemur to undertake the distribution of water from the reservoirs and made the women cook and cast bullets for them, as during the first siege. This siege, however, was greatly protracted —the water became scarce and whilst formerly a man would get three gourdsful (two during the night and one in the day) now only one gourdful was distributed during the whole twenty-four hours. This lasted for three months. At night assaults were made and shots were exchanged during the day through the loopholes. When the enemy approached under the walls, stones, etc., etc., were thrown on him. We did all we could but were still beaten—the reason God alone knows. Oh God! when the water became scarce, the enemy also put poison into the reservoirs; so some died from thirst and many from poison. When the enemy saw this, he had recourse to another *ruse*. They tied stems of trees together with ropes and using them as ladders, tried to mount on the fort, firing all the

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day. We had not seen this before and in our surprise lost more men than perhaps was necessary in defending ourselves. Neither water nor an escape was destined for us; so the remainder consulted about evacuating the place and getting into the hills. At midnight two-thirds of the men, taking the women and children with them, left the Fort and began to fly. The voices of the children roused the blood-thirsty enemy, who, like a wolf, came after the lambs. Some of the Sikhs entered the Fort and killed those they found; when they became exhausted with murdering, they took about 680 men, women and children as prisoners for the Sikh General and 120 were destined for the revenge of Jabar Khan and taken away with their property. The fort was at once set on fire and burnt down. Such property as they could take they did take. As for the fugitives, it was a running slaughter till sunrise, when we reached Kitshóri. Here we rallied and renewed the fight. Kitshóri is 2 kôs below Chilas and is a village on the Indus. Our men fought, hungry and tired though they were, till noon and were considerably thinned in numbers. It seemed now useless to us to continue the fight, for we said that we should all be at last overpowered and cut down to a man. We must therefore flee. We, therefore, retraced our march in the direction of the mountains and were not followed up, as the enemy did not perhaps, think it worth while, our numbers being so reduced. The pursuers returned to the Chilás fort. When they got there they agreed to return to Kashmir. As they reached the place where the two roads branch off, [one for Astor, the other for Kashmîr] the Sikh General gave leave to Jabar Khan, who took his prisoners with him. All were in great joy. The following is the list of the Sirdárs who escaped the slaughter: Alengir, Habba Khan, and Mîr Matta, of Harbenn; Rahmí, of Darêl.

Aladdin of Shatial and Ahmeti and Sir Andaz of Jalkôt were killed; also Azur, and Alahmun of Sazîn. Mard Shah Baba of Torr got away. Azad of Takk was killed. Nasr Ali, Hashm Shah, Paulad and Anwarí of Chilas were all killed. They were all Yashkunns. Serrkushu of Tangir was killed. M..... of Somer, a Shîn, my cousin, was killed by a bullet going through his mouth. 500 were killed and 800 taken prisoners—200 escaped. Among the prisoners was Sirdar Rahmat Ulla Khan, who was sent to Jammu. When he was captured, a Sikh went into the fort after his daughter, who threw herself off the walls in order to escape disgrace and was dashed to pieces on a stone. There is no doubt that we were the first to be in fault, as we attacked Astor without provocation and at the instigation of Lassu seven times before the Maharaja went to war with us. I never joined these plundering excursions but my cousin, M....., went every time and also S....., my brother, who is still alive. Once they brought back a man and 6 women to Minôr—the whole razzia having secured 60 prisoners, 800 goats, etc. Thinking it was "halál" or lawfully acquired property, they divided it with great glee and they ate the goats also as "halál," as they had taken them from Shiahs.

There is a suspicion that Lassu was an agent of Kashmîr sent to foment this discord and bring about the subjection of Chilás. In former times we used to assist Astor, being our neighbour. There is also no difference in our language. That of Khapul (Khapolór) is different. It is Tibetan;

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000 they call a man "shishek" and for "go there" say "gaz yut" and "bakhmula gihrit" (there is a mistake here) and for "bury" say "sùmduk" and for "does he go or not" "yidd mitt." "Son" they call "bhúman." 567 [Some of the words are Kashmíri.] I remember these words, having once known the language, as a woman of Khapul, called Miriam, had fallen to the lot of my brother in the division of the booty. A neighbour of mine also had a slave of the same place called Kolítsh, who used to come to see us. I was very young then and could converse with both. A year after, my brother, in consequence of his greed for money, took her to Kami, a village of Tangir and sold her to Batret Shah, Sirdar, the son of Babar Shah, for 8 tolas of gold (each tolah of the value of 9 Rupees 5 annas). This was a good price as she was very good-looking, but she should not have been sold.

● 173 When the Kashmir troops attacked Chilas, Lassu joined us secretly and although himself old and feeble told us what to do—but his two brothers and two nephews openly fought on our side in the battle of the valley of Chilás. Indeed at Sihil, Lassu fought himself and used to send the Sirdars forward with his instructions. In short, as far as he was able, he tried to injure the Sikhs. When the Sikhs had cut the water off the fort, he had arranged about putting only one man in charge of it and fixed the rate at which it should be distributed. He was ever ready with advice. He used to allow the Sikhs to beat up supplies in villages and then would cut them up while encumbered with them. This is how we managed to be fed (the plundered supplies reaching us by a mountain road) for three months. A relative of Lassu was in the Sikh Camp and told the General about Lassú's doings. The attention of the besiegers was then directed towards capturing him, but in vain, and in both wars he escaped being taken prisoner or receiving a wound. His younger brother was shot in the palm of the hand. In short, after the conquest of Chilas, Lassu again resided with his brothers at Neyátt and kept up his visits to Chilas. When the Sirdars arranged to offer their submission to the Maharaja at Jammu, they sent for Lassu and asked him to help them to recover their friends and relatives who had been taken prisoners to Kashmir. Lassu refused on the ground that he had left the Maharajah's service and had been his bitter enemy ever since and that therefore his life was not safe if he ventured into his presence. Finally, Lassu was prevailed upon to go. The following Sirdars went to Jammu to ask for forgiveness: Hashm Shah, Sattari, Baland Khan, and Daria Khan, of Chilas, with 36 Botés (poor people); Buyedad, Daru Khan, and Mir, Shins of Bûder; Azad and Sakhi, Shins of Takk; Tatari, Kamin, and Baghdûr, Shin, also of Takk.

When the Maharaja saw the suppliants, and also noticed Lassu, it was as if an arrow had pierced him. He was greatly indignant, having heard everything from his General about Lassu often defeating his troops and being the origin of the wars and of the numerous plans by which his soldiers had been destroyed by thousands—for instance at the ambush at Sihil. Finally after a long talk, the Maharaja made the forgiveness of the Chilasis conditional on the execution of Lassu. The Chilasis said "By all means,

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if this man and his ancestors have not been your servants. You expelled him and we received him. In gratitude for this he may have given us sometimes advice, but he has never raised his hands against you. Had he not given us even advice *we* should have killed him. It was his duty to do so. Let His Highness therefore pardon him." The Maharaja refused, and ordered his General to strike off his head there and then, put the blood into a plate and give it to him to drink [this was probably meant metaphorically, as a Hindu would not drink blood, especially not that of a Muhammadan. However, the Chilasi Chiefs appear to have understood the threat literally]. The Sirdars all interposed as they could not witness his death. They offered to pay taxes, if he were spared. [This was probably the object of this comedy.] Then the Maharaja fixed an annual tribute of Rs. 2 per house, in lieu of the blood of Lassu. The Chiefs thought it too much for their poor people, so at last one Rupee per house was settled. He then dismissed them, but wanted them again to appear next year with the tribute, viz. Balang Khan, Deryá Khan, Matshar and Lassu. "When this is done, he added, I will send Lassu with a khilat* to Gurniz and re-instate him as Governor and you shall also receive presents." This was accepted and the Chiefs returned with all the people (men, women and children) who had been taken prisoners. He also sent a letter to Jabar Khan of Astor to restore the 120 prisoners whom he had taken to the Chilas Chiefs. This was done and nearly all returned, excepting the few that had died in course of nature. Thus was Chilas again re-peopled and is inhabited to the present day.

The following villages in Chilas became subject to Kashmir: Chilas, then 300 houses, now only 200, 100 having died out in consequence of disease brought on by the bad water of that place, Bûder, 120 houses, Takk, 131 houses. The rest did not submit, nor will they ever do so, as they have heard about the tyranny and oppression practised in Kashmir. We Yaghistanis have thus become even greater enemies than before, but are helpless. To revert to my story. After a year the following Sirdars went with the tribute to Srinagar, viz.: Deryá Khan, Balang Khan, Satari, Rahmat-ulla, Matshar and Lassu. The Maharaja gave each a present of 120 Rupees and made them stay a month at Jammu. Lassu was sent with much honour to Gurniz and reinstated. On the expiration of the month the Sirdars came to Srinagar and requested leave to go as the harvest-time had come near. The Maharaja received them kindly and requested that in future two Chilasis should come with the tribute and remain for a year as servants (really hostages) when they would be allowed to return and two others be appointed in their stead. The hostages were to receive some pay from the Maharaja. The Sirdars then returned each to his own village. This arrangement is still in force. (For a more chronological account of the conquest of Chilás vide Historical Sketch, page 72.)

* Robe of honor.

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II.—WAR WITH GOUHAR AMAN FOR THE POSSESSION OF GILGIT.

173 A year later, the same Sikh General was despatched with 3,000 horse and foot to Astor and fixed a tribute of one-third of the produce on all. He also established a Thanna at Sógar, a village close to Astor. At the Thanna he laid in ammunition, etc. Next year he went down with his troops along the river of Astor to the Indus and established a Thanna at Bûnji, which is on this side of the Indus and opposite to Sai. Duru was at that time Governor of Bunji on behalf of Gouhar Aman, the ruler of Yasin and Gilgit. He also crossed the Indus at Sai and arranged for a Thanna at Jalkôt, but the Sai country was subject to Gouhar Aman who was residing at Gilgit. When he heard of the encroachments of Kashmir he sent off men to Dareyl and Tangîr, asking these tribes to come down on the Sikhs by the mountain paths near Bunji, whilst he would take the road along the Indus and attack Sai. He stated that as he and they were Sunnis, a Jihád [religious war] on the Sikhs became their common duty. 5,000 young men from Dareyl and Tangîr at once collected and came down to Bunji in 10 days. Gouhar Aman with 3,000 Gilgiti horse and 2,000 coolies, fell on Sái at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the day on which the mountaineers reached in the morning. The following Yaghistani Chiefs came: From Dareyl—Kalashmir, Lala Khan Izzetti, Bira Khan, Muhammad Khan, Shaithing, Jaldár; from Tangir—Khairulla, Mansûr, Rustami, Nayûn.

The only son of Gouhar Aman who came was Mulk Aman—Gouhar Aman himself being detained at Minôr by illness. The following also came: From Nómal 200 men, from Bhagrôt 2,000 (!!), from Sakwal 100, and from Minôr 200. These men carried loads of provisions and ammunition. They reached the Niludár range on that day, one kos from the Sai District. Thence preparations were made for an attack—the Sikhs having 8,000 men—the battle began at Chakarkôt which is three kôs from the Indus. There is a field there under cultivation where the fight began. It was summer. The Sikhs had got into the Chakarkôt Fort which was surrounded by the Gilgitis. Mulk Aman dashed into it with his horsemen. The Chakarkoti villagers facilitated their entry and opened the gates for him. The fight lasted all day and night within and without the Fort. The Sikhs were defeated; most were killed fighting and some jumped off the walls and were dashed to pieces. 100 only escaped crossing the river [Indus] back to Bunji. Gouhar Aman only lost 60 horsemen and 40 Dareylis and Tangiris, also Sirdar Muhammad Khan, a Shin of Darêl. Mulk Aman did not cross over to Bunji and dismissed the mountaineers, telling them, however, to be in readiness for renewed fighting. He then returned to Gilgit. A curious circumstance occurred with two Sikhs who were taken away as prisoners by the Dareylis. In taking them over the Jámu rocks,* which on account of their difficulty, we call "ákho" (Atsho?),

[* The stones are so loosely embedded in sandy soil, that treading on or catching hold of one, often brings down an avalanche of stones. When the path is narrow and a river flows beneath, it is, generally, impossible to escape. Stones are often placed in such a way as to cause avalanches to come on the invader who steps on them.]

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one fell into the Indus and was never again seen, whilst the other slipped down and rose again to the surface—an event never known to occur with any one who falls into the Indus at that place where it is very rapid. He, however, made his way over to Bunji, and just as he was reaching it, a stone fell on his head and he was drowned. 173

A year had scarcely elapsed after the battle of Chakarkôt, when, in the spring, about 20,000 Kashmir troops with the former General came to Astor. He sent a letter of defiance to Gauhar Aman, challenging him to do his worst, to assemble the mountaineers and to meet him on an open plain. Gauhar Aman at once told the mountaineers that they should quietly get into Jalkot (Sai District) by way of the valley of Kámberi, over the mountain Hudurga, to the village Kirinjot, and get out by the mountains of Puhût. This was done. Gauhar Aman again fell ill at Minôr. His son just got there in time to meet the Sikhs (10,000 in number) near the Niludar, the mountain ridge which is between Gilgit and Sai. It was night, and so both armies encamped; in the morning the fight began. 7,000 Dareylis and Tangiris had come under Jeldar, and Lala Khan of Gaya in Dareyl and Izzetí, Pátsha Khan of Phogutsh of Dareyl—also Matshar Khan of Samagiál—Bitori, Kalashmir of another Samagial, Kusuti of Manekyál, Arzennu of Dareyl—Rústami, Kâmi of Tangir, Muhammad Mir, Adab Shah of Gali, Khairulla of Jagôt—Karim, Moya Shah, Mawêshi, Matti of the Deyámur village—Merdumi of Lúrak—Akbaro of Sheikho—[2,000 came from Tangir, 5,000 from Dareyl]. Gouhar Aman's son had 3,000 infantry and 6,000 horsemen. The Sikhs were on the roads below the mountains, whilst the Yaghistanis were firing from the tops. The Sikhs necessarily wasted their shot in such an encounter, whilst the mountaineers had it all their own way. This lasted the whole day. All (10,000 !!) were destroyed—only one sepoy escaped to Bunji to tell the news to the other half of the army. The General was not present in this as in the Chakarkôt battles, but stayed at Bunji. The Yaghis only lost 2 men, one from Phúgutsh and the other from Samagial, viz.: Shahbaz, also called "Osmin," and Uzet Shah. The mountaineers then accompanied the victorious army back to Minôr and Gilgit, where they consulted regarding the future safety from the Sikhs. Gauhar Aman thought that the Gilgit Fort could not stand a siege and that it should therefore be strengthened and the walls made higher. This view was shared by the mountaineers who looked upon Gilgit as their centre; so they all set to work to improve the fort and raised it twenty yards in height and gave six yards of depth to the walls. Bullocks were constantly treading down the stones as the walls were being raised. The Zamindars also helped. The Mountaineers assisted and were fed during the month that it took to strengthen the place. Then all left, when Gauhar Aman fell very ill. He sent Mulk Aman, with 5,000 horsemen against Yasin to fight Mahtar and A'smat Shah, sons of Suleyman Shah, descendants of Pátsha (?), Shins. They came there on the fourth day and surrounded the place. Mahtar would not fight, and surrendered on the tenth day, saying that they all

173 came from one stock and were subjects to Gauhar Aman. A'smat Shah fled to Swat. Mahtar paid his respects with 1,000 young men and was apparently received in a friendly manner by Mulk Aman, who said he wanted to talk to him privately. There is a hall for the princes 100 yards from the Fort, and to this he led Mahtar and after a conversation of two hours struck off his head. Then he came out and killed 20 of Mahtar's relatives and friends. The rest he put into the Fort, as they were merely Zamindars. He then asked Gauhar Aman to come to Yasin with his whole family. On the good news reaching him he assembled the Gilgitis and told them that, as his illness was sure to carry him off, he wanted to be buried in his own country where also his ancestors reposed. In reality, he wanted to marry the widow of Mahtar. When he came near Yasin, some one told him that his son had married the widow. This rendered him furious and made him think of killing his son. In this state of mind he reached Yasin, where he said nothing but ascertained that the widow had been married eight days ago. He then threw Mulk Aman into a prison which was at the top of the highest tower of the Yasin fort and ordered that he should not receive sufficient food. The woman was also placed under surveillance. He left Ghulam as Wazir of Gilgit. Gauhar Aman remained ill for a year, being unable to move and one side being shrivelled up. When he felt his death nigh, he released Mulk Aman and made the woman over to him. A few days after he died and Mulk Aman had accomplished the funeral rites, he ascended the throne. When Isa Baghdûr [Isa Bahádur] and the fugitive A'smat Shah heard this in Swat, they rejoiced as they did not think that Mulk Aman was a hero like his father. Isa Bahadur of Sher Kila' had also fled to Swat having heard of the defeat of the Sikhs and being afraid of being dispossessed by Gauhar Aman—an idea which was confirmed by Akbar Aman, the brother on the father's side of Gauhar Aman—(Isa Bahadur and Akbar were cousins, sons of two sisters) (Isa Bahadur and Gauhar Amán were tarburs تربور, namely brothers' children). There is a road from Swat to Yasin which is much used and is near. Mulk Aman, wishing to conquer other countries, enquired who had caused Isa Bahadur's flight and offered a reward for the information. Hayátulla, a servant of Gauhar Amán, told him a month after about his uncle being the cause, as they were related on the women's side (the stronger tie; being related on the father's side is not a strong bond wherever polygamy is common). This convinced Mulk Aman, for having taken the throne from his uncle to whom it by right belonged, he always felt suspicious of him. However, he kept his own counsel, when one day he invited Akbar Aman to go out shooting with him. They went about one kôs from the Yasin fort, where a fine plain comes in view. Mulk Aman advised all retainers to get down from their horses as he wanted to rest a little and then start the game which would come in sight in that place. This they did not do, so he jumped from his horse, pretending that he saw game in different directions and ran after it. Then Akbar Aman also got down from his horse. He had scarcely moved about for a few yards, when a ball, fired by Mulk Aman, struck him dead. Mulk Aman then returned to govern in peace of mind. This news Isa Bahadur had also heard in

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Swat. What with wishing to revenge Akbar and thinking of the confusion which would be sure to follow the discord of the brothers of Mulk Aman (Mir Wali, Pahlivan, etc.) he and Asmár got ready and came back—but I don't know whether he came *via* Kandiá [a hitherto unexplored District, referred to elsewhere] or by what road. Anyhow he appeared at Sai with the 20 followers whom he had taken with him from Sher Kila' on his flight. There he found Sultan, the ex-Wazir of Pohordu Shah, a descendant of the Queen Johari (Jowâri—*vide* 1st Song, page 22) who in ancient times was the ruler of Sai and whose descendants had fled from Gauhar Aman into the hills. When Gauhar Aman died, all these fugitives came back and so Sultan turned up at Sai. When Isa and Asmat met him they contracted an alliance by oath and went together to Jammu by way of Astor in order to offer their services to the Maharajah. Indeed, they offered their allegiance, if he would help them with troops. The Maharajah made them swear on the Koran, because he said, "your religious bigotry may induce you to turn on me and induce you to be again friends with Mulk Aman. Besides, you all belong to one family and I alone shall be the loser." Then they all agreed and he made them swear on the Koran, after getting them to wash themselves first; "that they would never ally themselves or be subject to any one but the Maharaja and consult nobody's interests but his." The three swore most solemnly and assured H. H. that he need not be under any anxiety in future regarding his army and their own movements. They then asked leave in order to avail themselves of the dissensions of the brothers and prevent their becoming friends again. Then H. H. sent 6,000 infantry and 4 guns (mule-batteries) with Isa, Sultan and Asmat—Rs. 200 cash were given to Isa and a dress of honour; Rs. 100 and a gun to Sultan and Rs. 120 and a horse to Asmat Shah. The Maharaja recommended them always to keep the garrisons at Astor and Bunji, which were each 5,000 strong, at half their strength and to take the rest in order to prevent surprises and the loss of places which were difficult to acquire and to reduce to taxation. He thus allowed them to take 11,000 troops with them in all—*viz.* 6,000 men whom he sent direct and 5,000 from the garrisons of Astor and Bunji. Thus they started with the General and the Jítan Sahib (Adjutant ?) for Astor. There they remained a month to see whether the roads ahead were safe. They sent a Kashmiri, called Abdulla, into Yaghistan, *via* Sai, Minôr, Gilgit, Yasin, Dareyl, Tangir, Hunza, Nagyr, etc., to enquire what the tribes were doing and going to do. He went to Gilgit and instead of fulfilling his mission himself, he sent Norôz, a Zemindar and a subject of Mulk Aman, who, of course, went to Yasin and told Mulk Aman all he had heard from Abdulla and that Isa and his allies were advancing. On his return he told Abdulla that he had seen the tribes, that they had no idea that anything was impending and that Isa might advance with safety at once. Abdulla returned to Astor, whilst Mulk Aman summoned the Darêl and Tangir tribes, saying that unless they fought now they would lose their country. He also sent a messenger to Ghazanfar, Raja of Hunza and one to Shah Murad, Wazir of Nagyr (?) telling them to forget their enmity with him in the advance of a

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173 common foe to their country and religion (although the people of Hunza and Nagyr are Shiahs, necessity made Mulk Aman, a Sunni, call them Mussulmans) and asking them to meet him with their young men at Gilgit. Ghazanfar promised to come on the ninth day and asked him to go ahead. Mulk Aman, however, waited nine days and when nobody came, he advanced with the friendly hill tribes of Darêl and Tangir to Gilgit. Isa Bahadur and his allies, altogether 9,500 men, started from Astor, 2,500 soldiers joined them at Bunji and they all advanced to within the distance of one kôs from the Gilgit Fort, which they surrounded. Wazir Zoraveru commanded in this war on the part of the Sikhs—there were also Sirdar Muhammad Khan of Swat, the Sirdar Jitani (Adjutant) and others whose names I forget. On behalf of the tribes there were: (1) from DAREYL: Lalá Khan, Jeldár Bura Khan of Gayá—with 1,000 Zemindars;—Izzeti and Muhammad Khan of Phugotsh with 700 Zemindars—Matshar Khan and Mahman from Karini (lower) Samegial with 1,000 men—Mirza Khan and Kalashmir from Upper Samegial and 1,000 men—Kasûti from Karini Manikyal with 1,000 men—Hamza Khan and Arzennu from Upper Manikyal and 900 men—Bitori of Yatsho and 40 men—Suryó from Jutyal and 60 men—Tubyó and Syad Amir of Dudishal and 30 men—altogether 5,846 from Dareyl. (2) from TANGIR: Mardumi (is still alive), Talipu of Lurak and 40 men—Moza Shah and Maweshi (still alive) of Diyamar and 400 men—Khairulla and Mansur (still alive) of Julkôt and 140 Zemindars—Adab Shah and Mansur (still alive), of Gali and 60 men,—Néyo and Rustam Khan of Kami (still alive) and 400 men—Multan of Korgah (still alive) and 60 men—Akbaru of Sheikho and 40 men—altogether 1,153 men and Chiefs. With Mulk Aman there came from YASIN: his brother Mir Vali Khan, the Wazirs Rahmat and Nasir—Hayatalla, Habib—Padisha Mia, Balhi, Syad Khan (of Swat) with 100 Pathans—Muhammad Hussain, a great Chief of Yasin and 10,000 men, horse and foot, from Yasin and friendly countries.

At the dictation of Pehliwan, son of the sister of Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral or little Kashghár, a messenger of the name Balli—was sent to Chitrál, saying that Hunza and Nagyr had broken their promise and that, now that their father was dead, all his enemies had assembled to destroy them, 11,000 infidels, described as اعتبار نوکرہ ہی نابکار کافر, or useless unbelievers and perfidious Dogras, had already surrounded Gilgit with the help of faithless Isa, the fugitive Asmat and the traitor Sultan. "When we shall be dead, what is the use of you, a relative, striking your forehead with a stone (as a sign of grief)"? Balli taking forced marches reached Aman-ul-Mulk speedily, who, at once sent Lakhtar Khan, his nephew, son of Adam Khor (whom he had caused to be killed) with 8,000 men of sorts to Gilgit and wrote to promise further help, if Balli were sent again. Indeed it was said that Aman-ul-Mulk might come himself. So there advanced to the rescue of Gilgit the united forces of Mulk Aman and the auxiliaries from Chitrál. Mulk Aman then told the Dareylis and Tangiris to lay in ambush behind Parmas and Basin in the valley, as the Sikh troops were there. He himself at 6 o'clock in the evening went to attack these places. About 1,000 Sikhs were there, not suspecting any danger, in their

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tents. The attack was sudden and 120 were at once despatched to the lowest regions [of hell]; 100 Sikhs were captured. Then he called out to the young horsemen that having done so much they should attack the besiegers and that the infantry would follow them. He himself rode ahead, thereby inspiring his troops with courage. The enemy was attacked, but was now ready for them. A fierce struggle began and the Sikhs were forced on to the fortress with the loss of twenty youths and a loss of three Dareylis on our side, who had rashly followed the Sikhs into the fort. Then Mulk Aman halted in front of the fort and attacked it in the early morning and called out. "If you want to fight, well and good—if not, I will let you depart for Astor." Isa Bahadur replied: "We will certainly not do so till we uproot the foundations of your houses." Saying this, he fired his musket and killed Hayatulla (who had been the cause of his uncle's death). Then volleys were exchanged. So the fight lasted for a month, during the day—Mulk Aman retiring to a short distance at night—the Sikhs, however, picking off stragglers at night also. On the 27th day after the siege, the Raja of Hunza reached with 12,000 soldiers, but did not join the fight. 6,000 soldiers, in addition to the 8,000 already sent, also came from Chitrál who, at once, assisted in the siege. There was plenty of wheat which had been cut and heaped up by the Gilgit Zemindars who had fled at the approach of the Sikhs. The soldiers of Aman-ul-Mulk would take the sheaves, crush them with stones and boil them in water. Food was taken at night. Three days later, when the besiegers still held out, the Chitrál forces thought of returning. On the last day, Makhsat, a servant of Asmat Shah, renowned all over Yaghistan as an incomparable hero, came out of the fort with sword and buckler and called out. "Is there any one who will fight [me] the mountain eating lion?" Then Balli, the servant of Mulk-Aman, replied: "Come out and fight with me in the open space, for brave men do not boast." So he, snatching a sword and shield, met him. After boasts and insults on both sides, they closed; but Makhsat's sword could only find Balli's shield to strike, whilst Balli, in protecting himself always found an exposed part of Makhsat to hit. At last Balli struck a blow which not only cut through Makhsat's shield, but falling on his right shoulder caused the sword to pass out on his left side, thus dividing the body into two pieces. On seeing this, Mulk Aman considered that a sufficient victory had been gained and passed on to Yasin, accompanied by the Allies. Of the prisoners he had captured at Barmas, in order to wreak his revenge, having been disappointed in taking the Gilgit fort, he selected twenty four of the officers and ordered them to be executed at Kuffarkót, four kós from Gilgit near the Indus. This was accordingly done by some men in Lakhtar Khan, the Chitrál General's army. When their souls had reached the angels of Hell, Mulk Aman ordered the rest also to be killed, for, he said, these infidels have made martyrs of many of our friends and countrymen. Lakhtar Khan interposed on the ground that they were helpless, now that their officers were dead, and made a claim to carry them off himself, as a satisfaction for the losses of his army. "I want," he said, "to bring them to my country and sell them for red gold to the Tájiks. Thus I shall obtain compensation for the blood of the martyrs that has

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• 173 been shed and they will be punished by being sold from place to place by the Tájiks." Then Mulk Aman conferred the desired present on Lakhtar Khan, but kept one (the only officer who was spared) who was called "Commandán Bahádur" and presented him to Jaldár Khan of Gayá (Daroyl), as many martyrs [so called because they were Muhammadans, who had been killed in the war with the "infidel" Dogras] had fallen from that District. When the troops had gone back for another kós (from Kuffírkót) to a place called Serga—a very deep valley—Jaldár Khan told the "Commandán" to come near him, as he was in his charge. He caught hold of his hand and led him along. He then noticed a talisman round the Sikh's neck and wanted to snatch it away, forgetting that he was exposing himself to an attack by the movement. The "Commandan" saw a sword hanging on Jaldár's shoulder, so he let Jaldár take his talisman and drawing the sword struck off his head. When the Daroylis saw the death of their chief, they rushed upon the murderer and secured him. [illegible] death, the people of Gayá (Jaldár's village) advised his arms and legs being tied to four horses and his body being torn to pieces by the horses being set off at a gallop. This proposal was not favourably received by Khoshál Khan, the brother of Jaldár. The people of Sumegál suggested that his tongue should be torn out with red-hot pincers, then to flay him alive, cover his body afterwards with salt and pepper and finally to burn him and make him over to the ruler of Jahannam [Hell]. This suggestion being favoured by Khoshál Khan, it was ordered to be carried out. Thus the "Commandán Bahádur" died. The Daroylis then rushed on his ashes and half-burnt flesh and taking a handful, secured it in their clothes as a reminiscence of the event. I have mentioned this affair at length, because Jaldár was a very celebrated man for his hospitality, eloquence, good manners and administrative capacity. Rich and poor obeyed him, for he was wise and his death was a great advantage to the Sikhs.

Mulk Aman set out for Yasin, as I have said, and dismissed the Yaghistanis. Lakhtar Khan also asked for his leave through Pahliwan, Mulk Aman's brother and offered to let the army remain if he himself was allowed to go. This was permitted and the army remained with Pahliwan, his mother's brother (a sister of Adamkhor of Chitrál was Gauhar-Aman's wife and Gauhar Aman's sister was Adamkhor's wife). The following is the list of the chiefs killed before Gilgit: [The Sikhs lost 201 killed, wounded and prisoners.] Wazirs Nusseir and Hayatulla of Yasin; Jaldár Khan of Gayá (Daroyl); Tallpu of Tangir; Béra Khan of Gayo; Miran Khan of Hunzá Samagál; Sirdar of Hunzá Samagál; and Padshah Mir of Yasin.

Daroyl lost 103 Zemindars; *Tangir* 101 men; *Gakuch* [or *Galdésh*] 50; *Tildir*, 40; *Skardu* 32; *Shadoyál* 30; *Gulaphár* 44. Mulk Aman lost 160 of his retainers; (altogether 336 of his subjects.) The Chitrális lost 410, altogether 1,090 were killed on our side. [For a more chronological account of the conquest of Gilgit vide "Chronological History of Dardistan," pages 70-75.

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III.—WAR ON YASIN AND THE MASSACRE OF ITS INHABITANTS. [1860]

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When Lakhtar Khan informed the ruler of Chitrál of all that had occurred, Aman-ul-Mulk sent a messenger to the ruler of Yasin with the advice to fortify Gakuch, lest that too should be lost by him and he should be blamed for not advising him in time. He also thought that the Sikhs would not advance before they had strengthened their hold on Gilgit. Therefore he asked for his army to be sent back; next year he promised to send a larger force, as then an attack from the Sikhs might be possible. Mulk Aman delayed the messenger for ten days, but sent Sirdar Mastaúj, son of General Hayat-ulla of Yasin, with the Chitrál army to Aman-ul-Mulk. They were 3,880 horse; 7,500 foot and 10 mules with ammunition. Mulk Aman then remained at Yasin, feeling quite safe and established a Thanna of five men at Gakuch, one day's march from Yasin, in order to secure the country and enquire from travellers and Zemindars about the movements of the Sikhs. He advised them to treat informants well and let him know in time how Aman-ul-Mulk's warning should come true. The outpost kept a good look-out, entertained travellers and daily sent in news of the state of affairs. Five months afterwards Wazir Zorawera of Kashmir sent Wazir Mokhtár with twenty young men to Gakuch to surprise the Thanna at night, and establish themselves as an outpost and intercept all travellers from or to Yasin. He also sent after them Sahíb, a Kashmiri, with ten Hindu Sipahis and Attai, Kashmiri, with ten Muhammadan Sipahis, and ordered Attai to establish himself at 100 yards above Gakuch and Sahíb at the same distance below Gakuch and intercept the roads. Three days afterwards, Zorawera, Isa Bahadur, Ghulam Haydar, Mirza Wazir, Bagdádar Shah, Zobrab Khan, Asmat Shah and Saif Ali, the Commandant, with 9,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, advanced on Gakuch. We must now leave them on the road and see what the surprise party is doing. They came there shortly after mid-night, surrounded the Thanna and captured the five men. Mukhtár then established himself as Thannadar and Attai and Sahíb took up their appointed posts and captured all travellers of whatever age and sex, sending them in to the Thanna; in all, three women, four children, two foreign youths and one Yasini were captured. When the army came to Gakuch, Zorawera left the Thanna as it was, and advanced the same day without stopping, so as to prevent all notice of his march reaching Yasin before he himself arrived, marching all night, and at about 4 o'clock came to Chantigar, a village, about twenty nine kós from Yasin. Accidentally, Muhammad Hussain, a Sayad, had gone out hunting that day. His horse roaring without any apparent cause he looked round and saw clouds of dust at Chantigar. He, at once, suspected what was taking place, galloped back to Yasin and called out before Mulk Aman's house: "Why are you sitting at your ease? the enemy is on you—now do anything if you can." Mulk Aman at once got his horses saddled and fled with his family over the mountains in the direction of Chitrál. When the army came near Yasin, Isa Bahadur, who knew the country, ordered it to be divided into three corps, one of

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173 which marched straight on Yasin—the second to go to the right of Yasin by the village of Martal and the third to go to the left of the place, so that the inhabitants should not be able to escape. When the Sikhs entered Yasin with Asmat Khan preceding them (who got all his friends and relatives out of the way) acts of oppression occurred which I have heard related by the people of Kholi and which have never been surpassed by any nation of infidels. In traditions much is told, but all is nothing compared with the following atrocities which surpass the doings of demons, jins and witches. We, say the Kholi informants, with our own sinful eyes saw these ferocities practised by Mussulmans on Mussulmans. That blood thirsty Kafir, Isa Bahadur, ordered the houses to be entered and all the inhabitants, without regard to sex or age, to be killed. We swear that Isa Bahadur descended from his horse and distinctly ordered the soldiers to snatch the babes from their mothers' arms and kill them, so that his heart might be set at ease. He then put one knee on the ground, putting his hands on his knees and waiting for the babes. As they were brought to him, he put one of their small legs under his foot and tore the other off with his hand. Even the Sikh soldiery could not bear looking on this spectacle. However, the accursed Shiah,* (should, subhagah...) Sunni) kept on tearing them to pieces. The slaughter lasted five days and nights. The blood of the victims flowed in streams through the roads: there is not a word of exaggeration in all this. After these dreadful five days were over, Zorawera sent for Asmat Shah and enquired after his relatives, whom he had put in safety. They were brought forward and Yasin committed to their charge, but what was left of Yasin!?* Thus 2,000 men, women, and children above ten years of age and a countless number of infants and babes became martyrs at the hands of the bloody Sikhs—3,000 persons (chiefly women) a very few children as also a few old men were kept as prisoners and brought in three days to Gilgit, Zorawera being elated with excessive joy which he manifested in various ways *en route*. When he came to Gilgit, Isa Bahadur and Asmat Shah, selecting 1,000 of the most beautiful women, took them to Jammu with 3,000 soldiers. They were so delighted that they took double marches in order to be early with their good news. At a public assembly at Jammu, these scoundrels narrated, with much boasting and eloquence, their own achievements and those of the Sikhs and spoke with the loud tone in which victories are reported.

When they had finished, the Maharaja asked them whether their hearts were pleased with all these doings. Isa Bahadur said that all his heart's desire had not been accomplished, though he certainly had experienced a slight satisfaction in the fate of the people of Yasin, who had been his enemies in the times of Gauhar Aman. "God be praised," he said, "that I have lived to revenge myself on them." The Maharaja enquired what else there remained to afford him complete satisfaction. "Perhaps," he said, "I may be able to meet your views." Isa Bahadur replied. "Alas,

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* Here my informant, himself a Sunni Mussulman and always calling his Shiah co-religionists Kafirs, was raving with indignation against the orthodox Sunnis, Isa and Asmat and the Sunni soldiers of Kashmir, for murdering the Shiahs of Yasin. He ascribed the atrocities of the Sikhs entirely to the orders of the ex-fugitives.

Malik Aman with all his family has escaped unhurt to Chitral! I should have liked to have treated him as the Commandant Sahib who killed Jubbir was treated, and to have taken his wife for myself and to have killed his children, as I did the infants of Yasin and, moreover, to burn them. Then alone will my heart be at ease. However, in consequence of Your Highness's good fortune, much has been done. If your shadow only continues to protect me, I may, some day, be able to have my heart's desire on Malik Aman." The Maharaja then bestowed on him a splendid and complete dress of honour, a horse and Rs. 500. He also gave Rs. 100, a dress and a horse to Aowat Shah. He finally placed the 3,000 soldiers whom he had brought under his command and made him Governor of Sher Kila (where he is still). Ibn Bahadur, after the usual dispensatory forms of politeness used at oriental Courts, suggested that, in the midst of Yaghistan, he would not be able to hold his own even with 30,000 soldiers, unless the Maharaja placed Fakhrun, the son of the sister of Aman-ul-Mulk at the head of the Government of Yasin even without troops, so to lend all the prestige of Aman-ul-Mulk on his side. At last, the Lord of Srinagar said that he agreed to it, if Ibn Bahadur could manage to get Fakhrun appointed to Yasin, a matter which, naturally, was out of his own control. Ibn Bahadur then asked for troops, not against Chitral, whose interests would now be conciliated, but against the Darwyis and the other hill tribes. So the Maharaja gave him the troops, warning him at the same time to be on his guard against Fakhrun tampering with his troops and so causing a general revolt against the Maharaja's authority.

His Highness then ordered Aowat Shah to go to Yasin in order to keep a watch on the movements of Fakhrun and to inform Wazir Zaowarra of all that was going on. Aowat Shah feared that his life would not be safe at Yasin and wished for some other employment. The Maharaja then said his salary should be Rs. 40 per mensem* and he should go with Ibn Bahadur, as Thanadar of Gakkhuh. Ibn Bahadur, however, thought that it could not be done and that it would be better to send him to Skardu. This was agreed to and the two got ready to depart. The Maharaja advised him to take the 2,000 prisoners left at Gilgit back with him to Sher Kila, so that the place might be well populated, a plan that would not only give him more income from the produce of fields but provide him with assistance against an enemy. "Listen," he added, "your first wife at Gilgit, (as a hostage, no doubt, for Ian's fidelity to the Maharaja) and take your second wife and her children with you to Skardu." So they returned to Gilgit, Aowat Shah setting up with his family at Skardu, where he is still and receives his pay. Ibn Bahadur also settled at Skardu in the manner suggested by the Maharaja. He then sent Dardar Shah, a Zamindar of Gulmutti, eight kos from Skardu, to Aman-ul-Mulk at Chitral asking him

* I met Lehna Singh, a relative of the Maharaja, in 1890 in command of the Sut forces, who had only Rs. 20 per mensem, with unlimited liberty, however, to make as much tension out of the people, as he could. But as the system is, the dress on the rulers and the ruled is not so green, under General methods, as under a highly paid European scientific [illegible] and the mismanagement of Kashmir was far less oppressive and less injurious to the Empire than the present "good", management through British officers.

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to appoint Fakiroo as Governor of Tasin, who would be quite safe there. Dasher Shi was sore because he knew the roads and had often gone to Chimbi. He reached the place in seven days. Amara-el-Mulk replied that he would not send Fakiroo, unless Ina Bahadur also agreed to Min Yusi and Wazir Rahman. He gave Dasher Shi a parting present of a gun, sword and horse. Dasher Shi told Ina Bahadur of the result of his mission. Ina at once set off for Gilgit to consult with Zuvenara. He represented to him that unless Amara-el-Mulk was allowed to have his way, he himself would not hold his own at Shin Kiu. Zuvenara, upon this, gave him full permission to act as he liked, taking the responsibility on his own shoulders in the event of the Maharaja asking any questions, as the only means of securing some peace. Ina then again despatched Dasher Shi to all haste, who reached Chimbi in five days, with the message that Amara-el-Mulk should do him the favour of sending the three men he had suggested. Amara-el-Mulk entertained Dasher Shi for twenty days, during which time he [illegible] some young men and sent them to Tasin with Fakiroo, Min Yusi and Rahman. He made them take an oath on the Koran that they would never conspire against each other, "for, if you do, you will fall an easy prey to Ina Bahadur." When they reached Tasin, they sent on Dasher Shi to Ina Bahadur. The first thing they did was to get the fugitive Tasinis back to their country which they ruled as in former days. Ina Bahadur was glad at this and gave eight tolahs of gold to the messenger.*

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IV.—WAR WITH NAGYE AND HUNZA. [illegible]

It is now nine years since these wars have taken place or two years after the conclusion of the war with Tasin. The Maharaja wrote to Zuvenara that after all what he wanted to conquer were the countries of Nagye and Hoona, as there was no profit to be gained from Gilgit and Yaghistan, whence hillsmen, he said, "we have only reaped stony districts and low ill men." [In reality, Gilgit and Yagin are fertile, whilst Hoona is "stony"]. Zuvenara at once set out for Nilmal, which is twelve kos from Gilgit in the direction of Nagye and sent Mahabir Khan of Punial and Salam Wazir of the Jaglots, Amirullahs and Safi Ali, Commandant, with 8,000 infantry. Zuvenara himself remained at Nilmal in order to facilitate communications and bring up help, if necessary. The army advanced next day to Chagarli, Gayuk and Skin, of which the latter is in Nagye and the former in Hoona

* The Chitt people from whom the Amir heard the account of the massacre were the merchants who had come to Gilgit, as is their custom, to sell goats, etc., and had there been arrested and taken along to Tasin by Ina Bahadur, in order to prevent their spreading the news of the impending crush. There were also eight men from Gilgit and five from Punial. The following were the Chitt with the merchants:- Ishan, Kali, Dhum, Jan, Dja-Shina of Mulmin in Kali (two sons from Kali), Amir Shah, Gamu, Dashan Khan, Sardar, Gulbin (Kashmir), Pajara, Lala, Shaghla Hidda, Gan, Pan, Chandra (Kashmiri), Ashadi, Kala, Sultan Shah, Bibi, Mohammad, Fatiha, Fatimulla of Kali, Baira Khan, and Bala Shah, two Persa Soldiers (Shah, Sardar of Chitt), a Shia, with seven Gamukaris. [illegible] with my informant, have also heard a Kam Shah, Amara who was not present, but who sorrows deeply for the occurrence. (The questions raised are fully confirmed by Mr. Hayward's account, quoted elsewhere, and by what I saw and [illegible] in 1889. Mr. Hayward was [illegible] the time of the massacre.)

V.—WAR WITH DARAYL [YAGHISTAN] 1866.

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When Zoowoora saw that the Hill, or Yaghistan tribes kept quiet he thought it a good opportunity for attacking Darayl, which, he fancied, would fall easily. He appointed spies to bring to him any Darayls that might happen to visit Gilgit. Aziz, a Lambardar of Murkhut, came with one guest to Gilgit and when he had sold them, visited Zoowoora, who received him kindly and entertained him for two days. When he left, the Kashmir General asked him to remind Kalashmir that he had not sent the tribute of Darayl and Tangir, which had been promised two years ago and gave him an ultimatum of one month in which to come himself or send the tribute, otherwise Zoowoora would pay Kalashmir a visit with his army. Kalashmir replied that the Kashmirs had better come and take the tribute and that there was no occasion for his fellow-countrymen to take the least notice of the threat. When twenty days of the month had passed, two other messengers, one a Kashmiri, Keshan, residing at Khor in Chilas; the other, Rahim Nur of Shenigiah—both traders, happening to be at Gilgit, were sent to announce Zoowoora's immediate attack and to ask the Hill-men to prepare themselves, because, as Zoowoora said, "it is my custom to give my enemy notice three times." Kalashmir replied he did not care and sent day requested the tribes to assemble at Sassigiah—viz. the people of Tor, Shurkum, Shatiil, Sazin, Uroor—and of Tangir, Lorik, Dayamar, Shaltiko, Jalkot, Gult, Kamari, and Lungah. He even sent to the Kandia people for help, who, however, replied that their harvest was just getting ready and that Darayl was too far off. He also sent to Jaglot, Chilas Shadar, Tokit, Bunjer, and Gor. The Chilasis fairly refused on the grounds of being subjects of Kashmir and being helpless. Jaglot also did not come, as the native had reached there too late and the war was immediately impending. The rest all assembled at Sassigiah on the 10th day and were ...,000 in number; there were also 1,500 men from Darayl itself. The Chilas also started from Gilgit, on hearing which Kalashmir appointed four scouts at 10th of the following six posts: in the Kargil valley—at Kamri, Jalk—at Bun...r Pindar, fifteen kos off—at Gindak, at the same distance—at Sarigo, sixteen kos distance—and at Sassigiah, fifteen kos.

From Sassigiah the tribes marched over the Darayl-Sassiga mountain to the valley of Sarigo where they halted. Next morning at about 9 o'clock, after only a few had taken food, the heavens seemed to become dark. Looking round we saw a Darayli waving his dress on the Kamri hill-peak, which was a sign of the approach of the enemy. We all got ready and an hour afterwards the enemy came up, who had taken 1,000 men from Gilgit. A brother of Sassigiah, Kamri, who had fled about four years ago to Gilgit from his village in consequence of the enmity of another fellow-villager, Dadin, now showed the way to the Sikhs. When the forces reached Yaskuruk below Darayl-Sassiga on the Gilgit side, he asked Zoowoora to confide the guidance of the troops to him, as he alone knew the paths. Zoowoora consenting, Kamri divided the forces into three bodies; one under Colonel Mir Chand in the direction of the valley of Darayl, the second under Subha Shahpala to despatched to the Yaskuruk

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173 valley—whilst the third was forwarded with Zorawers to the Bariga valley—he himself going with the first column. We did not know these tricks and thought we had only to deal with the troops advancing on Bariga and rushed on them at once. The fight lasted till four in the afternoon. Accidentally, a Darrył looking in the direction of Jaddri-Jût, saw from that "grassy plain" such a cloud of dust arise that the sky was darkened and out of which troops emerged. The Manikiális, whose village is five kos from that plain, fled at once to defend their homes, as they thought the enemy threatened Manikiál. This was followed by the flight of the Sanegiális by the Darrył valley—an hour afterwards the people of Phugotsh, then the people of Gayú, also fled in the same direction. Now the fight ceased and night broke in. We remained at Bariga. The fugitives on reaching their villages, fled onwards with their families, some to Sazin, others to Tangír, others again to Shatiál. Yet we only lost five in killed and three in wounded—the losses of the Sikhs it is impossible to estimate. I alone counted twenty from where I stood. The Sikhs during the night surrounded us and cut off our retreat. At day-break, the fight was renewed and lasted till noon, when we discovered a mountain path for flight which we took and came to Sanegiál. The second day we lost nine men and the Sikhs thirty. The Sikhs remained for ten days at Jaddri-Jût and then advanced on Sanegiál via the District of Manikiál, of which they burnt two villages, Shiná Kot and Yashkand Kot, and killed the old women and children who had not been able to get away; four boys were found ill and also killed. Reaching Sanegiál, they found that we had fled on to Gayú. In that District the Sikhs also burnt two deserted villages, Dudú Kot and Dará Kot; they found, however, twelve fugitive women and children on roads and killed them. The Sikhs stayed at Sanegiál, where one of us had remained concealed at about a mile from the place. A fight took place with a loss of four on our side and twelve on the part of the Sikhs. [illegible] were not followed up to Gayú. The Sikhs returned to Manikiál where they remained ten days and indulged in eating the grapes which had become over-ripe and are very abundant in that District. Many died from diseases engendered by this over-indulgence, but the Sikh Sirdars spread a report that the tribes had scattered poison on the grapes. Winter also set in, and snow fell, as the Sikhs returned to Gilgit. *En route* snow-storms set in, which blinded some and frost others. The Sikhs lost in dead about [illegible] men. The fugitive villagers now returned to their homes and rebuilt the burnt down villages. Six months later, Kalashmir of Dudukin (Sangpal) and Dewan of Phugotsh and Surat of Kartsokot (Manikiál) and Bumbú Sirdar of Bilimkin, (Manikiál) and Sirdar of Gayú and Nur Muhammed of Shatiál started for Gilgit and offered allegiance to Zorawers. He replied; "Oh! Kalashmir, thou hast given me much trouble and inflicted much injury. Now I want a goat per annum from every two houses throughout Darrył." He then dismissed them with Khilats and now the tribute is regularly paid from those villages that I have named as being represented on that occasion by their Sirdars.

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It is necessary to say a few words about the treatment of those *Doulat Shâ.* who had assisted Kashmir. After Doulat Shâ had arranged matters with Chitrâl, Zoraweru appointed him over the yield of the gold washing of Bakrôt, Sakwâr, Jutial, Deyûr, Minôr, Nomal, and Gilgit. The mode of taxation on gold washings is as follows: the men work two months in spring and two months in autumn and have to pay Rs. 3, or 2 gold Rupees – about 5 Chilki Rupees, for each season per head. Taxes are also raised on the produce, viz., a third of the whole. Doulat Shâ received 10 Chilkis per mensem for that service. He went one autumn for the first time and brought back the taxes collected, which were sent to the Maharajah through Baghdur Shah. Six weeks later, some gold washers came to Gilgit to pay their respects to Zoraweru, who asked them whether they had had a bad season as the taxes paid had been small. The goldwashers said that it had been as good as usual: so Zoraweru, on referring to the accounts of the preceding year, found a difference of 5 tolas (about 60 Rupees). Doulat Shu was at once thrown into chains and sent to Jammu in charge of Ghulam Haidar and Mirza. The Maharajah sent him to the same place in which Sultan is confined and where both are now. In neither case was there an investigation. When Isa Bahadur heard of the imprisonment of men who had rendered such services as Sultan and Doulat Shu he came to Gilgit, where he found Ghulam Haidar and Mirza and took them to Jammu. They there interceded for the prisoners with the Maharajah and represented that brave and faithful men should not be punished with perpetual imprisonment, one of whom had conquered a country for His Highness, which the other had kept for Kashmir by his admirable arrangement with Chitrâl. The Maharajah told them to go about their own business. When they heard this, they left, but, in their correspondence during four years, they constantly urged the release of the prisoners on His Highness. Two years ago they again presented themselves at Jammu and represented that the years that Sultan and Doulat Shu had already passed in prison were a sufficient punishment. They conjured His Highness by his idol, but the Maharajah threatened to send them to keep company with the prisoners if they did not at once desist from their importunities.

When Isa Bahadur heard such words, he left the same night and galloped on without stopping, till he had got to Sher Kila. He still considers that he has been very discourteously treated by Kashmir and his correspondence with the Maharajah has ceased. I have heard him lament over the past. Ghulam Haidar and Mirza kept on for a whole month importuning His Highness, who resolved on imprisoning them, when they fortunately asked and obtained leave to go home to Gilgit. The three Chiefs have not visited Jammu since the affair which I have related.

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PRESENT STATE OF MIR VALI.

A year and a half ago Mir Vali (who drugs himself with charas = a preparation of hemp) got offended with Pahlivan, (probably on account of a difference of opinion in re Hayward);* went to Kandiá (road described elsewhere) and to Manikiál [not the village so often referred to in the account of the Wars] on the borders of Swat. Thence he went to Tall, Ramta, Berahmar and then to Beikéy, the Akhûn of Swat, who asked him why he had come. Mir Vali said that Pahlivan had annoyed him and as the Akhun was a great Saint he had come to him, having no other friends. The Akhun entertained him for eight months, after which, on a Friday (when service takes place at noon instead of 2 P. M.) he told him to go back to Yasin, "for your heart's desire has been accomplished." Mir Vali at once started off on horseback, taking the bank of the Indus. On the third day he reached Ghorband; thence he went to Damtirey, Bilkái, Ranulia and Jajiál; there he crossed the river to Kái; thence to Palus, Gagréy Khwars (or in Gilgiti, Gabrégs), Shogobind (a place for pasture) Jaglôth, Tekkegá, Parbáh (a place for pasture) Latór, Sazín, Dareyl, viâ Gayá, Samegial (where he stayed a week in order to consult Mulk Aman, who was there) Manekial, the Matrêt valley (pasture place for Gujers), and finally to Yasin. There he was well received by Pahlivan who could not understand why he had left and now the brothers love each other more than before. The rule is in the hands of Mir Vali who keeps up friendly relations with the Dogras and would strengthen these relations still further were it not for fear of Aman-ul-mulk, who is a great enemy of the Maharajah and who has ordered him to have as little to do with them or Isa Bahadur as possible. [*Vide* note on next page.]

MULK AMAN.

When Mulk Aman remembered his country, Yasin, he fell home-sick in Chitrál and begged Aman-ul-mulk to let him go and, if Aman-ul-mulk would assist him, he would fight the Sikhs or else die as a martyr. Aman-ul-mulk said that Mulk Aman could only do the latter, as he had no army left. "I advise you, he added, to go to Dareyl and ask the Maharajah's forgiveness, who may give you some appointment. Serve him, he said, as Isa Bahadur has done and you may be restored to the throne of your ancestors." Aman-ul-mulk said this in order to get rid of the importunities of Mulk Aman, who left for Samegial. Baghdur Shah and Kuweti, the Maharajah's agents, happened to be there and actually offered to intercede with the Maharajah on his behalf and to get him an appointment. Mulk Aman was delighted. The agents spoke in his favour to the Maharajah who cheerfully ordered him to present himself. They came to Samegial and brought Mulk Aman to Jammu. His Highness bestowed a dress of honour, a horse and Rs. 200 on him and a monthly salary of Rs. 100 for himself, Rs. 30 for his son and Rs. 30 for the rest of his family and requested him to live at Gilgit outside the fort. "Remain there for 7 years; afterwards I will give you Yasin." This Mulk Aman did and built a house about 100 yards from the fort. He did not, however, for two years

* I sent the Vakeel, Nasr Mahommed, (whom I had taken to Europe), by the little frequented Shigar route to find out the truth about Hayward's murder. His report is a strange and suggestive one, and will be published in my next volume. (See also pages 74, 75 and 105.)

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send for his family from Samegial where he had left them when he started for Jammu. When they came he continued serving Kashmir for four years more. Isa Bahadur, however, happened to tell Zoraweru last year (for Isa was the arch-enemy of Mulk Aman and feared his getting back to Yasin) that Mulk Aman intended to escape with his family to Chitrál, after which, as he had plotted with the Gilgitis, there would be a general revolt which would end in his sharing the Government of Yasin with Pahlivan. When Zoraweru heard this he consulted with Isa Bahadur, who advised him to seize Mulk Aman and send him and his family to Jammu at once, so as not to give him time to rouse the country. This pleased the Governor and a suitable hour was left to Isa's discretion for surrounding the house and bringing Mulk Aman and his family before Zoraweru. Isa Bahadur at once went and selected 400 young men whom he ordered to be in readiness at four in the afternoon. Accidentally a friend of Mulk Aman overheard the conversation between Zoraweru and Isa Bahadur and at once informed him of what was contemplated and of the arrangements made by Isa. The friend advised him to flee at once into the mountains. Mulk Aman, greatly astonished, went to his house and ordered his family to get ready to start. Just as his women were coming out of the house, he saw Isa Bahadur with his soldiers all round it. Mulk Aman drew his sword, ran a-muck among the troops and after killing a few soldiers managed to escape alone into the mountains in the direction of Dareyl.* However swiftly pursued he could not be found; the Sikhs returned from the mountain and took the family prisoners. Mulk Aman, descending on the other side of the mountain, came to Samegial. Isa Bahadur then presented the women and children as hostages to Zoraweru who forwarded them to Jammu, where they still remain. Shortly afterwards the Maharajah heard that Mulk Aman was perfectly innocent of any conspiracy and had been got out of the way by the calumny of Isa Bahadur, the enemy of the house of Gauhar Aman from which he had suffered. The Maharajah was very sorry at what had taken place and ordered Muhammad Khan of Swat to bring the brave and unfortunate man back from Samegial under liberal promises of rewards and appointments. The Swati started and told Mulk Aman that he was responsible that no treachery was intended. All was in vain; he insulted Muhammad Khan and raved about the loss of honour, etc., which he had suffered at the hands of the Maharajah. "If he makes me his greatest Sirdar he can not wipe out the stain of having taken away

* It has also been alleged that in order to get rid of two doubtful friends of the Maharajah, namely, Mir Vali and Mulk-Aman, and to make room for the more trusted Pehlivan, Aman-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Chitrál and supposed instigator of the murder of Hayward through the agency of Mir Vali of Yasin, wrote to the Maharajah to implicate Mulk Aman in the business. Immediately on his flight, his wife and son were temporarily imprisoned in the Fort of Gilgit. Pehlivan and Rahmat interceded for some of the servants, who were set free and sent on to Chitrál. Mir Vali found his way to Chitrál whose ruler had one of Mr. Hayward's guns, though the bulk of his property is said to have been recovered. There he was seen by Major Montgomery's Havildar, who reported that Mir Vali was lame from a kick by a horse. This however, does not seem to have prevented him from resuming the rule of Yasin in conjunction with Pehlivan or, if recent accounts are to be trusted, from turning his nominal suzerain, Aman-ul-Mulk, out of Chitrál. Mulk Aman also figured for a short time on the scene of the war with Aman-ul-Mulk and by the latest report, seems to have fled to Yarkand.

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173 my wife." Muhammad Khan returned to Jammu from his fruitless expedition and told the Maharajah, who was very sorry. Twenty eight days after Muhammad Khan's visit, Mulk Aman, considering himself unsafe, went to Harbenn, which is still Yaghistan [independent, wild]. Zoraweru then advised the Maharajah to send for him, as he had got among the Yaghis and might incite them to an attack on Gilgit. "Above all, make him satisfied." When the Maharajah read Zoraweru's letter, he again sent the Swati to Harbenn and told him to swear on the Koran, on his own behalf and that of His Highness, that it was all Isa's fault and that he would give Mulk Amán his revenge for the wrong suffered and allow him double his former salary. This Muhammad Khan did and saw Mulk Aman at Harbenn to whom he brought a shawl as a present from himself. He told him, in private, after "salâming" to him at a public meeting, all that he was charged to say and took an oath in attestation of the sincerity of his promises. Mulk Aman replied that he would not fall a victim to treachery and that if he said another word or came again he would certainly kill him. So Muhammad Khan left and again had to report his failure. "Only an army can bring him, he said, back from Harbenn." The Maharajah is hoping now that he will get tired of wandering about and come back of his own accord. During the last eight months he has sent nobody for him. Mulk Aman is very badly off and is now at Rimo (Dareyl) and I am quite sure that the Yaghistanis will never assist him. His brothers will not help him. His wife (Mahtar's widow) is now at Jammu and reports have spread about her conduct."

In connexion with the Sazini's account, which in all particulars relating to the tribes is very trustworthy, may be read the following statements of S... S... of Kûner, on the borders of Kafiristan, now a Christian. He relates that he was once a Sepoy in the Maharajah's Army and started on one of the Gilgit expeditions [1860?] with 300 Affghans and 3,000 Dogras, etc., under the command of Samund Khan, Ata Muhammad, Badam Singh, Man Singh and Dula Singh. He believes that Wazir Pannu was with the forces. At any rate, the attack on Gilgit was mere child's play. The Kashmîr troops bombarded it for two or three days, but the Dards had no cannon with which to reply. Wahháb, the Wazir, looked out of one of the fort loopholes and was shot and so was a Bhishti. Wahháb's body was stripped and hung to a tree. S... S .. adds. "We were well entertained by the people who treated us to curds and we found grapes and wallnuts in abundance at Sher Kila'. The women of the country cooked our food, but our soldiers repayed the hospitality which they received by plundering and ill-treating the inhabitants. I remained behind, but when my company came back they told me that the Sikhs wanted to dig out the body of Gauhar Aman, but were prevented from doing so by their own Muhammadan comrades. We found caverns in the mountains which were filled with food for the use of the enemy. It is the custom of this people to heap up food in caverns to which the owners only know the way. After entrusting Sher Kila' (a fort as big as that of Gilgit and constructed of wooden beams and stone) to the administration of native partisans, we went to Gao-Kutch, where we found plenty of sport. Gauhar

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Aman used to sell captured Sepoys for hunting dogs." (This story is repeated from so many trustworthy quarters that it seems to deserve credence. I heard it from many at Gilgit in 1866. The kidnapping propensities of Gauhar Aman were great and one of my own retainers, a petty Chief, had been dragged off for sale, when he escaped by sliding down a mountain side. Yet the people of Gilgit preferred his rule to that of Kashmir and revolted in his favour, when oppressed by Santu Singh in 1852). "We had two Hindustani rebels of 1857 with us and there were also several with the petty Rajahs." [This important statement can be somewhat confirmed by me. What I understood to be the fourth Light Kashmir Cavalry was said to be almost entirely composed of rebels of 18[illegible]. I found many of the stations in charge of Swatis and numbers of soldiers of that race at Gilgit. One of the Maharajah's Sepoys, who came to see me, admitted that he was formerly at Hyderabad and then had joined the rebels.] 173

I can also confirm the statements of the Sazini with regard to the atrocities committed in the War with Dareyl. In order to be able to report victories, men, said to be innocent of complicity in the war, were hanged and women were dragged into captivity in order to fill the Zananas of the Kashmir Sepoys. I saw the body of a tall, and powerfully built Dareyli, which had evidently been hacked about a good deal, suspended on a tree by the way-side. It was said to be the body of a man who was quietly returning to Sai, which had long been in the undisturbed occupation of the Maharajah. A little further on near Jaglôth [which is also in long-occupied territory] there is a bridge on one of the poles of which I saw the skeleton head of a Lumberdar of the place, said to be perfectly innocent of all participation in the war with Kashmir. The roofs of the houses in Gilgit had been blown off, and most of the inhabitants had fled into the mountains (*vide* "dance at Gilgit" page 36). On the other hand, dreadful stories were related of the retaliation of the Dard tribes. Sepoys had been sold by hundreds into Badakhshan, etc.; others had been used as fireworks and blown to atoms for the amusement of the Kunjûtis. Personally, I found the Dards pleasant enough and consider them to be superior in many respects to either Dogras or Pathans, but it is by no means improbable that they have been guilty of many of the atrocities which are laid to their charge. At the same time, it must be remembered that the wanton cruelties of the Massacre of Yasin (*vide* page 69) and the fact that their country was invaded by a stranger and an "infidel"—in defiance of treaty obligations—is some palliation for their conduct. The Kashmir troops, and more particularly the coolies sent with them, were also grossly neglected as regards food, clothing and shelter by their own authorities. It was said that out of 12,000 Kashmiris, impressed for the purpose of carrying loads, only 600 survived in the expedition of 1866. The roads were strewn with the skeletons of horses, etc. I saw men in the most emaciated condition and ready to eat "unlawful" food. Three Mussulmans in a dying condition whom I met below the "Acho" summit,* were

* This peak overlooks Bunji and the whole course of the Indus (with a sight of the Gilgit Valley) from its sudden southward bend at the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, till it again bends westward beyond Chilás.

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ready to take a tin containing pork and could scarcely be restrained till "lawful" food was brought to them by my servants. Men were forced to go with the troops. One Hakím Ali Shah, a teacher at Amritsar, was compelled to serve as a physician, a post to which he had no other claim, except that his name happened to be "Hakím." I rescued him. A virulent fever was destroying the troops at Gilgit, who, even after the siege of the fort had been raised, were liable to be shot down by prowlers from the tribes within a few yards of the fort. I ordered the fort, etc., to be cleaned and, although myself in danger of life from my Kashmir friends, if not from the tribes, I insisted on my orders being obeyed, the assumption of an authoritative tone being often a traveller's only chance of safety among Asiatics. I distributed medicine among the troops and was afterwards told in Durbar by the Maharajah that some medicine which I had sent to Wazir Zoraweru, who was then on his Dureyl expedition, had saved his life.

Since then, the Dards have made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of treatment, which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilization. "*Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel, Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.*" The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Tham of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogists have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*what once was*," are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted *Persian* character, the Khajuná language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagyr sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ*," except in Khajuná Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," which exploiters were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

As Kandiá is learned, Nagyr pious, Chilás puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1865, which are practically revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether

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the King of the Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris himself appears, confesses that he is in your power and enquires your wishes —and so on.

I think it is a pure coincidence that where I have the term Balā it occurs usually in conjunction with horses. A groom and a horse—both later in my service—had a thrilling experience with a Balā which it would take too long to relate here, but the principle involved was elsewhere stated to me as follows: "If one mounts a horse at night and rides anywhere, then if the horse sees a Balā it will refuse to go forward. If at this moment the rider looks over the horse's head between its ears the Balā will be visible to him."

The more frivolous character of the Devil, Shaiṭān, is shown in the following: If in certain circumstances you can snatch the cap off the Devil's head and take refuge in a masjid and avoid his efforts to seize you by the seat of your trousers and go off with them, then if you put on the Devil's cap you wil be able to see him, but he will not be able to see you and others will not be able to see either you or him—a piquant if not very useful situation.

If these foreign—Arabic—names could be eliminated, as I confess I should like, I think it would be found that most of the bengs rendered innominate, would readily gain admittance to the ranks of the Chèch and the Dē.ūs.

Dɛ.ū

The name Dē.ū, akin to the Sanskrit *dèva-*, may be regarded as a legitimate Ṣhiṇa word. At any rate, its source need not be sought in Islam or Islamic influence.

Dē.ūs play a prominent part in the folktales of the country as demons ogres, etc., usually of maleficent proclivities, but they also descend into legendary history. In the latter situation they probably represent a once locally dominant race which has died out or been absorbed. But that is probably only a later identification. Their origin must lie in or before the Folktale period which is presumably much

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earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend. 776 [173]

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demonic possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression *dēwē.i dakhal ṣḥātin*, denoting possession by a Dē.ū. [786]

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)."

It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places." And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chīlègi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this. [789]

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Ṣḥina account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn. [197]

YĀTHINI.

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Adjacent to and on the southern side of Basin, a village about three miles west of Gilgit, there stands a cliff at the junction of the Kargah and Naupur nullahs. A large image of an erect Buddha has been sculptured on the rock-face, about 30 feet above the ground. It is without doubt a sculpture of ancient date and shows that the valley was once inhabited by a race professing Buddhism. The people call it "Yāthini" (giantess), and relate an interesting story about it. They say that she was the sister of Shri Badat, a King of Gilgit who was the descendant of giants. She lived on the said rock and, being a man-eater like her brother, was in the habit of killing and devouring half as many of the men as happened to pass by, leaving the other half unmolested. The princess continued this practice for a long period, to the great distress of the inhabitants, until a certain Danyal named Soglio, feeling the loss of so many people dear to his heart, devised a successful plan of murdering her in order to save his beloved countrymen. With the above design in his mind he set out for the place with a party of brave and bold men. Reaching the spot he burnt a small fire at the foot of the said rock, and his companions took their seat around it in a small circle. The Danyal, according to his usual custom, put some *chili* (juniper) leaves on the fire and inhaled its smoke. Thus driving himself into a state of ecstacy, he commenced dancing and singing some magic incantations, which were repeated by his companions. The Yāthini was elated at the prospect of more victims. As soon as she approached the Danyal he stepped forward and addressed her in a song, of which the following is a translation :—

"Have not you heard, O lovely princess, that your father has expired to-day?" Hearing this sad news, she struck her breast with her right hand. Soglio, who had with him some long iron nails, thrust one of them through her hand, as it lay on her breast, with such rapidity and strength that the nail penetrated her chest and went far into the rock behind. Soglio then sang another song, in which he sang as follows :—"Have not you heard, O charming princess, that your brother has also died to-day? On this she struck her second hand on her thigh. Soglio quickly pierced this with another sharp nail. The Yāthini was thus firmly fixed to the rock, and was unable to move, or to take revenge. The party was much delighted at this success of the Danyal who further turned her into a stone by his prayer, and even more delighted were the inhabitants when they heard of the good news. The unfortunate Soglio requested the people to bury him on his death near the Yāthini, as otherwise she would return to life and continue her cruelties. The people, who had now obtained their desire, held a private council to discuss the matter. They argued that no one could tell when and where Soglio would die, and whether they would be alive or able to procure his body at the time, should he die in some far-away country or by drowning in the river; in which case the Yāthini would recommence her practices with renewed ferocity. After a long debate they thought it best to assassinate Soglio at once. A man was appointed to accomplish the horrible task, which he did, and Soglio was at the same time buried close to the figure on the rock.

always nourished by human milk would certainly be better than that of an animal. 539
Coming to this conclusion, he gave orders that a tax of human children should be levied in future instead of sheep, and that their meat should always be served at his dinner. In this way he became a man-eater.

The Capture of Gilgit by Skardu Chiefs; the Soul of Shri Badat and the "Talido" and "Nisalo" Ceremonies.

In the reign of Shri Badat, a Buddhist Chief of Gilgit, three princes named Khisrau, 173
Jamshed and Shamsher, the sons of Azur, a chief of Skardu, are said to have arrived at [341]
Danyore, a village situated about four miles east of Gilgit at the junction of the Gilgit and 776
Hunza rivers. They were the first Muhammadan chiefs who started from Skardu to conquer and subdue the hill States of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. They had succeeded in capturing the two former States, and it was now the turn of Gilgit to fall into their hands. The people relate an interesting story about their arrival and their obtaining possession of the fertile tract of Gilgit proper. They say the princes were born of fairies and arrived at Danyore flying on wings from the lofty mountains where the fairies live. One day they saw a wild cow grazing on the "Danyore Khoh," a hill at about two miles distant from the place they were sitting. The elder brothers, Khisrau and Jamshed, requested the younger, Shamsher, to shoot the cow with his bow and arrow. Shamsher out of respect for his elder brothers said that he could not shoot first, but he was overruled and compelled to carry out the request. He then took up his bow and arrow and aiming at the cow shot her with such dexterity that her body was pierced by the arrow. The Danyore people were much surprised to see this skill of Shamsher, and ran away noisily to the hill to fetch the body. They found the animal lying half-dead of the wound caused by the arrow, which had penetrated the heart. The cow was brought to the village and placed before the princes, who ordered the liver to be roasted and served. When the meat was brought in, Khisrau and Jamshed remarked that it would be seemly on Shamsher's part to eat it himself, as it was the result of his skill. In vain did Shamsher try to make them join. He was thus obliged to eat it himself, but he had not taken more than three or four slices, when both his elder brothers took flight into the air and disappeared. Shamsher also tried his utmost to follow his brothers, but the meat just taken by him had worked such an effect on his body that he could not even rise a little above the surface of the earth, and reproaching himself with the deed which had caused his separation from his beloved but faithless brothers, he remained content to pass his future days in the village. The inhabitants of Danyore who had seen his marvellous act, considered him, on account of his being "fairy-born," of a race superior to their own, and always showed him much respect and obedience. After a lapse of some months he related to a large gathering of the villagers around him, that he had just seen a big markhor frolicking hither and thither on the Hapukor Mountain (above Naupur and Naikoo villages), and that he wished to shoot it at once with his arrow. They were very surprised to know that he had seen a markhor from a distance of more than four miles, and they would not have believed him had they not already experienced his miraculous power of sight on the occasion of his

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

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shooting the cow, and had they not believed him to be fairy-born. They all therefore expressed their pleasure at his wish to shoot the markhor. Shamsher then aimed at his victim, and, shooting the arrow with all his might, cried out that he had killed the markhor, to the great joy of the villagers, many of whom expressed their wish to accompany him in fetching the dead animal. They went up the hill *viâ* the Naupur stream and found the markhor lying on the self-same spot that had been pointed out by Shamsher, and they all heartily congratulated him on his success. The sun was high and the day hot, and the men, who were tired, searched for and found a spring well shaded by trees. There they slept for a while Miyo Khāi Soni, a daughter of Shri Badat, used also to live on the same mountain near the spring, in order to pass the hot summer days. A maid-servant of hers happened to come there to fetch water, and was surprised to find that some strangers were sleeping near the spring. She returned at once and reported the matter to her mistress, who became very angry and ordered all her maid-servants to capture and bring them before her. This was done. Shamsher was a youth of handsome and comely appearance, and as soon as the princess saw him her rage fled, sothat she forgot every angry word she had thought of as befitting the occasion, and very politely and amiably asked after his health and the cause of his coming up the mountain. She was so much struck and pleased with his refined behaviour and elegant manners that she at once exclaimed

> "I might call thee a thing divine: for nothing natural
> I ever saw so noble."

Shamsher asked for her permission to leave and go down the hill, but this was refused and the party was amiably invited to stay the night. They devoted much of their time to conversation, and Miyo Khāi modestly showed her preference by listening to the stories of the prince's adventures and deeds of valour from his own lips. At last he gained a tender place in her heart. The moment was a critical one for Shamsher, who thanked her courteously for her favourable consideration and told her that the idea of her giving her hand to a foreigner like himself would prove a sorrow to all concerned when the news reached Shri Badat. These words were hard to bear, and the soft-hearted princess began to weep and fell down at his feet. This action of Miyo Khāi produced a sudden effect on the heart of Shamsher, who feeling for her unbearable grief, lifted her up from his feet and gently consented to their union, in spite of the fate that might await them at her father's hand. The princess was pleased beyond expression, and her subsequent devotion is a proof of her feelings. She ordered all her maid-servants to appear, and explained to them her desire. She also informed them how dear she was to Shri Badat and that this would cause him to listen to her appeal. But if any of them should tell the news, she must consider her life as at an end, and her property confiscated. They all trembled at the words of their mistress, and with due respect expressed themselves to the effect that her happiness was their heartfelt desire, and that they were extremely glad to know of this selection; and they promised that nobody else should hear a word about this engagement from their mouths. The marriage ceremonies were secretly performed on the same night, and Miyo Khāi was, some people say, named Sakina, but according to others her name became Nur Bukht. Next morning Shamsher allowed his Danyori

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companions to go down to their village, with instructions to keep what they had seen a secret. Shamsher became filled with the desire to make himself ruler of Gilgit, and began to instigate his wife to murder her father and to raise the Danyori people secretly against him. Sakina, whose passions had mastered her sense of duty, prepared to take her father's life for the sake of her beloved stranger. Shri Budat, being the descendant of giants, had no fear of being attacked by sword or arrow, as these weapons had no effect on his body, and no one knew what his soul was made of. The first thing therefore for Shamsher to inquire was the secret of his soul. So, on a certain day, in order to gratify this desire, and to prove the trust his wife had in him, he prophesied that as soon as the leaves of a certain tree should decay and become yellow, she should no more see her father. It happened that the leaves of the tree decayed much earlier than usual, and Sakina, thinking that it meant the death of her father, went down the hill lamenting; but she was much surprised to find that he was still alive. She related to her father that a few days ago a certain *fakir* had gone up the hill and had foretold that as soon as the leaves of a certain tree should turn yellow she should unfortunately find herself an orphan. On this day the leaves of the tree had turned yellow, and, considering this an ill-omen, her filial love had caused her to present herself at his feet, but she thanked God it was not so, and that the *fakir's* statement had proved false. Shri Budat said in reply, "O my affectionate daughter, nobody in the world can kill me, as no one knows of what my soul is made. How can it be injured until someone knows its nature? It is beyond a man's power to inflict harm on my body." Sakina said that her happiness depended on his life and safety. As she was dearest to him in the world, he should have no hesitation in informing her of the secret of his soul. She would, moreover, be able to forestall any unfavourable omens, and to show her filial love by devoting her life to the safety of her kind father. He used much *finesse* in turning the topic of conversation, and made many pretences in order to keep his secret from his daughter, in spite of her pertinacity. His paternal love at last compelled him to grant her wishes, and he informed her that his soul was made of *ghi* (butter), a substance which cannot be melted without much heat; and that whenever she should see a large fire burning in or around his fort, she must consider it the last day of his life. But he did not know that he was putting his life in danger by confiding in a weak-hearted woman, who was being used to take his life. Miyo Khāi passed a few days with her father and then went up to her hill-abode, where she found her beloved Shamsher anxiously awaiting her arrival. To him she related her conversation with Shri Budat. He was extremely glad to receive this description of Shri Budat's soul, as he was prepared to spare no pains in taking his life. The information acquired now led him to think of the speedy fulfilment of his hopes. He is said to have sent for his Danyori companions secretly, who had accompanied him to the hill, and whose loyalty was unquestionable, since they believed him to be born of a fairy. The cruelty of Shri Budat knew no bounds, so that he had earned the title of man-eater; and his subjects were already looking for an opportunity of getting rid of the tyrant in order to save the lives of their innocent children. In a few words therefore Shamsher won the Danyore men's approval of the plan against the life of Shri Budat, adding that he was now master of the secret of their ruler's

539 776 173 end. They agreed to lend a helping hand to Shamsher and to raise the subjects secretly against their merciless chief. On finding that the majority of the people had joined him, Shamsher fixed a date for accomplishing the deed by burning a large fire late at night round the fort of Shri Badat. A few days before the appointed day, he sent down Sakina to her father with instructions to keep the secret, while he himself went down to Daoyore village to make his preparations. At about 3 a.m. on the night appointed for the purpose, all the people turned out of their houses with torches in their hands and a quantity of wood. Shri Badat's fort was situated about 200 yards east of the present Gilgit polo-ground on the site of the houses of the Bāburi family. The people were still some way from the fort when Shri Badat's spirit began to feel uneasy. He therefore asked his daughter to go out and see what was the cause of his restlessness. This unfaithful and faithless woman, who had a perfect knowledge of the conspiracy, went out and returned after some delay, in order to let the people come closer, and said that there was nothing to be feared outside the fort. But Shri Badat's increasing uneasiness brought him out of his room. He found himself in a very awkward position, having by this time been surrounded by the enemy, who had succeeded in planting large fires round the fort. In this predicament he had no time to consider the necessity of punishing his wicked daughter, but at once jumped up in the air and took wing towards Chotar Khan, a snowy tract in the Ishkoman Valley. He is said to have rested at Yashpur (a deserted village near about 12 miles west of Gilgit) Hunza, where he requested somebody to bring him a cup of cold water. The village had a plentiful produce of grapes, and the inhabitants used to make wine from them. The man therefore brought out a cup of wine to Shri Badat, who refused, saying angrily that, coming that he had come there after having escaped from a fire which had done great injury to his soul, it was improper for he man to give him wine instead of cold water, which was what he had asked for. But some would bring him water, and, being thus dissatisfied with the treatment of the villagers, he cursed the place, saying that it would be totally ruined and laid waste, so as to produce no grapes again. It happened in the following year that the glacier which afforded a supply of water for the village melted away, thus effectually destroying the village cultivation forever. From Yashpur Shri Badat went to Chotar Khan and hid himself there under a big 776 glacier, where he is still said to have his abode. The people have a firm belief that he will re-appear at Gilgit to renew his rule over them with redoubled fury. Being afraid of his regaining the kingdom, the people are in the habit of burning big fires in their houses throughout the night of the anniversary in November on which Shri Badat was driven from Gilgit, in order to keep away his ghost if it return. On this night no one ventures to sleep, but to while away the time they are in the habit of 578 dancing and singing round the big fires. This ceremony is called "Tulow." There is, however, a family of Kolchins (the kitchen servants of Shri Badat) who do not take part in the performance of the ceremony; for they are still loyal and faithful to their master, and are still desirous of his returning to his own. This is the only family now residing at Gilgit who are well-wishers of Shri Badat. It is curious that they should have escaped injury at the hands of the opposite party.

2 [10, Shri Badat. See CAT 176 pp. 119-173---9:46 PM]

539 the Kanchans the crops were then your creditors. The boy was afterwards married and
241 is said to have had four sons. Three of these were sent to the Rás of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin, at their request, to reside in their respective States as beings of divine nature, while one remained at Gilgit. From that time it has become a custom that the Rá's lands are ploughed first by the Kanchans clan, and that afterwards the other people commence this operation. As soon as the ploughing is finished and the time to sow the seed has arrived, the Rá gives a big feast to the inhabitants, who all assemble at his house and make merry, with the usual dancing, singing and playing upon flutes and drums. Some flour is then rubbed on a Kanchan's face, and his long locks are let loose. Moreover, he is made to hollow and go like an ox in front of all the party towards the Rá's fields, where some food is given him by the Rá. This he confines and eats like a beast. Next begins the sowing operation by the Kanchans's putting some handfuls of seed in the Rá's shirt, who mixing with it a small amount of gold dust, scatters it with his own hands in one of the fields. The rest of the seed is scattered by the Kanchans, and then by all the other people in their fields. On this day, which is called "Chili," the Kanchans receives from the Rá a reward of one maund of flour, 5 seers of ghi, one turban and one cloak.

THE MISCHIEF OF WAZIR TAMBAL.

173 There lived a wealthy and influential man named Thambo at Gulapur in the Punyal District, during the time of Badshah, who was the ruler of Yasin. He had made for himself a golden plough, and used to keep many hidden treasures in safe places in the adjacent mullah. These are said to be still buried, but the places are unknown. Badshah, the Minister of Yasin, once sent him a khillat. When the messengers reached Gulapur, Thambo was ploughing in a field on the side of the Yasin road. The men, who did not know Thambo asked him the whereabouts of the house of Wazir Thambo. He pointed out his own house to them, showing them a round-about way to it, while he himself went there direct by a short cut and arrived before them. In the interval he changed his clothes and then met the messengers, who presented him with the khillat. On receiving this, Thambo returned towards his fort called "Bauri Thaki." (the ruins are still found at Gulapur.) By so doing he meant that his fort was so strong that the Minister sent him presents. The messengers were soon dismissed by him, and they related this story to their chief on their return to Yasin. The chief was much angered by Thambo's bearing, and advanced against him with a large force. Thambo sent his youngest brother, Khushbal Beg, to check his advance, but he had already reached Gulapur. In the fighting which ensued, Khushbal Beg cut his way through the opposite forces and came face to face with Badshah, who made three cuts with a sword at Khushbal Beg, which the latter successfully parried with his shield, and cried out that it was now his turn of attack. The Minister enquired as to which of them was after all to turn tail, to which Khushbal Beg made reply that Badshah was a king of hawks, Khushbal Beg of lawks only, and that he must or how give away. The fighting was then stopped, and the Minister being considered victorious, returned to Yasin. Thambo was very angry that his brother Khushbal Beg had not killed Badshah when such a favourable opportunity offered itself; so he made him a prisoner in the fort of Chatter Khan in Ishkoman. Hearing this news, Badshah again led his forces against

Thanks. The Mehtar captured Hakim Beg, the son of Thanks, at Gakuch and brought him along with great ceremony and treated him very kindly, making him many presents in order to show him his magnanimity. Reaching Gulapur, the Mehtar sent Hakim Beg to his father Thanks with a message of surrender; but Thanks was still more enraged at such a message from the lips of his own son, whom he blessed for bringing with him an army against his father; and (taking up a matchlock) was ready to commence fighting. Hakim Beg who had seen Shahbah's might, however, persuaded him from doing so, and forced him to accept allegiance. Thanks yielded to this, and in the midst of a large crowd of the headmen and his followers, came out of his fort to salaam to Shahbah. A dance was then held by the Mehtar, and Thanks ordered to show his obedience by dancing. This he did, but instead of salaaming to Shahbah in the course of the dance, he turned towards his own fort. The Mehtar was filled with anger and ordered his servants to behead Thanks with his 11 sons on the same spot. They were cruelly murdered and buried all together. Their grave, which is called "Thanks ai Bostan," is about five yards square and nine feet high, having the form of a small vault in which they are buried. The roof has now fallen in owing to a fig-tree having grown out of the vault. Khinshal Beg, the brother of Thanks, was afterwards recalled by Shahbah from Chatar Khan and made Wazir of Gulapur.

The advance of Shahbah Against Chitral and the Devastation of the Chanagush Village.

When Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Shah Murad, and Shah Salim, the princes of Shardu, advanced towards Chitral, they halted on their way for a couple of days at Chanagush, a village about 13 miles east of Gilgit. Here they made merry, played polo, and tried to overawe the people by the horrible noise of about a score of drums. All the inhabitants of the village came to pay their respects, except one wealthy man of Chanagush. Some of his servants called his absence to notice. He was therefore brought by the Chiefs' men and asked to explain the cause of his delay in paying his respects. He stated that he had gone to his grain-pen, and as he had left the kids and lambs loose to suck milk, he could not, owing to their noise, hear of the arrival of the princes or the sound of their drums. The chiefs turned very angry, and to ascertain the truth of his statement, they deputed some of their servants to go into the man's pen and to listen for the sound of the drums, which would be known afterwards. They returned, saying that the noise of his flocks was sufficiently overpowering to overcome the sound of the drums. The chiefs were astonished to hear this; but still they did not relent, and they decided that the lands of Chanagush should be laid waste in order to prevent any of the people becoming rich enough to admit of a similar display of arrogance and disrespect. For this purpose the chiefs gave orders that twelve bags of quicksilver should be thrown into the source of the Chanagush stream, in order that the quick silver, because of its weight, would cause the level of the stream to be depressed and prevent water from being obtained for the irrigation of the land; and so it came about that Chanagush village and fields were laid waste.

Their army is said to have arrived at Gilgit by both the Harmoosh and the Astore routes. When both the divisions joined at Hisnil, a village about seven miles north-west of Gilgit, the

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princes thought of counting their men for the purpose of ascertaining their losses, as they were proceeding against a distant and formidable foe, who was likely to inflict a further loss on their numbers. Such a large force was never seen before in the country, and it was not an easy task for the chiefs to have them counted in a day. The simplest way therefore was adopted by the chiefs, viz., to order their men to throw stones together in a heap at one stone per man, and to take out one stone from the same heap on their return, in order that by this means they might be able to deduct the casualties. There is a heap of stones at Hinzil, which, however, is more probably the ruins of a Buddhist tope.

They conquered the country as far as Chitral, where they are said to have placed a big stone under a large chinar tree.

The *dak* arrangements are said to be so excellent that the chiefs used to eat dinner cooked at Skardu, which reached them warm at a distance of about 400 miles.

The following song is still preserved at Gilgit in memory of these Chiefs :—

"(1) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad trai dram, Khiri sile sine aje Kalter gamige.

(2) Ala pute, Malgoore ai pute, trai dram Khiri sile sine aje Kalter gamige.

(3) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, Khiri bole sarega lam guri gamige.

(4) Ala, pute Malgoore ai pute, trai dram Khiri bole sarega lam guri gamige.

(5) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, Hadisa Kikke Khur bai Khiri Hini ga Yur phirsigai.

(6) Ala, pute, Malgoore ai pute, trai dram, Hadisa Kikke Khur bai Khiri Hini ga Yur phirsigai.

(7) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, Chemogar ai roi phute, sang bourg thursigai.

(8) Ala, pute, Malgoore ai pute, trai dram, Chemogar ai roi phute, sang bourg thursigai.

(9) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, bune sili Chili ai Khiri dewai romsigai.

(10) Ala, pute, Malgoore ai pute trai dram, bune sili Chili ai Khiri dewai romsigai.

(11) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, bune sile Chili ai Khiri dum dole bashsigai.

(12) Ala, pute, Malgoore ai pute trai dram, bune sili Chili ai Khiri dum dole bashsigai.

(13) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, Khiri Brook ga Balim phutai, Khiri roni rondi thursigai.

(14) Ala, pute Malgoore ai pute trai dram, Khiri Brook ga Balim phutai, Khiri roni rondi thursigai.

(15) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai dram, Khiri Brook ga Balim phute Khiri chai ghirsigai.

(16) Ala, pute, Malgoore ai pute, trai dram, Khiri Brook ga Balim phutai Khiri chai ghirsigai.

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(17) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai draro, Citrachtral aje *kat kei*, Khiri oordome thap tharaigai.

(18) Ala, pote, Makpoon ai pote, trai draro, citrachtral aje *kat kei*, Khiri oordome thap tharaigai.

(19) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai draro, Shah Katur nayáta, mute chhal bagwaigai.

(20) Ala, pote, Makpoon ai pote, trai draro, Shah Katur nayata, mute chhal bagwaigai.

(21) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai draro, Gilit beangus gasen, Yasin ar bola degai.

(22) Ala, pote, Makpoon ai pote, trai draro, Gilit beangus gasen, Yasin ar bola degai.

(23) Ala, Sher Shah, Ali Shah, Murad, trai draro, chimar ai chhai photai, dare bat othaigai.

(24) Ala, pote, Makpoon ai pote, trai draro, chimar ai chhai photai, dare bat othaigai."

TRANSLATION.

(1) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have made a bridge over the blue river below.

(2) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Makpoon, three brothers, have made a bridge over the blue river below.

(3) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have pitched their shining tents beside the rippling pond below.

(4) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Makpoon, three brothers, have pitched their shining tents beside the rippling pond below.

(5) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have made a *kul* (watercourse) below Hathu mountain (between Ramghat and Doyan) and have worked a water-mill with it at Hosi (a place near Ramghat).

(6) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Makpoon three brothers, have made a *kul* below Hathu mountain (between Ramghat and Doyan) and have worked a water-mill with it at Hosi (a place near Ramghat).

(7) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have broken the *mallak* of Chemogar (Chemogah) and have made the land barren.

(8) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Makpoon, three brothers, have broken the *mallak* of Chemogar (Chemogah) and have made the land barren.

(9) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have held a dance of giants beneath that high, green *chili* tree.

(10) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Makpoon, three brothers, have held a dance of giants beneath that high green *chili* tree.

(11) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, are having their drums beaten beneath that high, green *chili* tree.

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(12) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, are having their drums beaten beneath this flag, green skirt-sun.

(13) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have conquered Brook and Balon; and the women of the places are weeping.

(14) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have conquered Brook and Balon, and the women of the places are weeping.

(15) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have seized Brook and Balon and have brought here a number of the girls of those places.

(16) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have seized Brook and Balon and have brought here a number of the girls of those places.

(17) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have planted a stone in Chitral and have spent the land.

(18) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have planted a stone in Chitral and have spent the land.

(19) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have defeated the slaves of Shah Katur (ruler of Chitral) and have distributed many grain.

(20) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have defeated the slaves of Shah Katur (ruler of Chitral) and have distributed many grain.

(21) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have halted at Gilgit, and played polo at Yasin.

(22) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have halted at Gilgit, and played polo at Yasin.

(23) O (countrymen), Sher Shah, Ali Shah, and Murad, three brothers, have broken the iron lock and left the doors open.

(24) O (countrymen), the sons, the sons of Shāhpoon, three brothers, have broken the iron lock and left the doors opened.

Thakhan's mom Tomoro sits on Rom.

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Tro-Trakhan, an ancient Rā of Gilgit, is said to have married a woman of a wealthy family of Darel. The Rā was very fond of playing polo and used to go to Darel weekly for the purpose of playing his favourite game with the seven brothers of his wife. The game was played on the condition that whichever party lost the game should be murdered. After a long and skilful game the Rā was winner, and according to the conditions of the agreement he executed all his brothers-in-law. The Soni (queen), who was much disturbed on hearing the sad news of her brothers' death, determined to revenge them and mixed arsenic in her husband's food. So he died, and she took the reins of government [illegible] named Trakhan; but, his mother, who was deeply grieved on account of the brothers' fate, did not like to see the son of a murderer, and cruelly locked him up in a wooden box, which she secretly threw into the river. The box is said to have been carried away by the current as far as Hodar, a village in the Chilas District, where it was seen by two brothers of pure means, who were collecting wood on the river bank. Noticing this

the two the flaming spite rose to the back, and thinking that in might remain some treasure, one of them jumped into the river and brought it ashore. Thinking it better to open the box in their house, they proceeded to do a handful of wood and carried it home. There they opened it, but to their and their mother's great surprise, a lovely infant was found in it still alive. Their mother brought up this woman child with every care. The family was in straitened circumstances, but after the arrival of the child they grew richer and richer, and they considered the arrival the cause of their prosperity. When the infant was six years of age he began to talk freely with his foster mother, who was amazed to see the many of his appearance among them, and their becoming more prosperous since his arrival. When Tsetilaw reached the twelfth year he wished to see the Illigh district, of which he had heard a great deal, specially in regard of his destiny. So he set out for the place accompanied by his foster brothers. He stayed for a few days on Mandi, a hill to the north of Illigh which has a flat summit of land called "Bakkar" on its top. This was cultivated in three days, as the more supply which has ever been cut by two sufficient, and there existed a small village on the spot.

The mother of Tsetilaw was still the ruler of Illigh, but had then fallen dangerously ill. The people were therefore in search of another competent for them any of the neighbouring districts, as there was no one left of the ruling family of Illigh. One early morning when the village cocks began to crow, the birds, instead of the usual voice of *Barkandam*, uttered the following words, to the great astonishment and delight of the people, "*Bakkar dam kar*" (there is a king at Bakkar). She was at once sent down to bring down any stranger they happened to find. The three brothers were met by them and captured and forcibly carried before the queen. Tsetilaw was handsome and manly in appearance, and the queen therefore addressed him, and asked him to relate the causes of his undertaking his journey, and inquired of his country and his birth. He related all his history in full length, and she found, to her extreme surprise and joy, that the boy then speaking was her own son, whom she had so unfortunately thrown into the river, when her mind was disturbed by the words of her brothers. She then welcomed Tsetilaw and proclaimed him the rightful ruler and heir to the throne of Illigh.

Tsetilaw and a Cave.

On a certain day, it is said, Tsetilaw, the youngest and the present Ato of Illigh, was sitting on the border of a rivulet situated in the centre of the community of his followers. There he said down that there was no one in the world equal to him in bravery and strength. While he was thus boasting, a cow happened to pass over his head and called him. He turned very angry at the impudent action of the cow, and ordered his followers to catch it at once by any means possible. The cow having been pursued by an active the Illigh river, but seeing that the pursuing [illegible] escaped towards the Tsenyon Mullah. There a woman was washing the feet of a merchant. The pursuers took from her a piece or two of the cloth, and by the help of this once they succeeded in seizing the poor lad. It was brought before Ato Ato, who indignantly asked the lad to explain the cause of his conduct towards a king of Illigh.

The cook, it is said, replied saying, " The bone looks to you as a spur I know well to be the groove of a man far more powerful than you, did not please me. A ring of the same manner is also hidden at this spot, and it will show you how strong he was in comparison with you." Trakhtan gave orders to dig up the ground; there was at once cleared, and a finger-ring was found in the groove as wide that Trakhtan could pass it over his body. A [illegible] of meat was then prepared for the cook, and afterwards the bird was set free.

On Master's Returned with a "Successor."

Ko Khalik, an ancient Rik of Ulligh, is said to have presented a dog as a dowry to his sister, who was married to Formosik, a ruler of Yonin. When Tuj Wughlat, the chief of Sadakhtikan, arrived at Dashra for the purpose of attacking Ulligh, the Rik of which place had refused allegiance to Sadakhtikan and engaged mercenaries of Chingan, Formosik wrote a letter to Ko Khalik, and enclosing it in the collar of the dog, ordered it to start at once for Ulligh. The dog arrived here within five hours, travelling by night. Ko Khalik got the letter and started on the same day with a strong force to check the enemy's advance, and to assist Formosik against the Mongols invading Yonin. Both the forces reached Yonin on the same day and encamped on the opposite sides of the river bank. The Mongols, who had come by short and slow marches, sent a message to Ko Khalik to commence the fighting; but the Ulligh men were too weary to fight owing to their previous haste, and so Ko Khalik sent a reply requesting them to postpone the combat until the next day. However, he asked the Mongols that if there were any strong athletes men in their army, they should show him their skill. Tuj Wughlat selected one of his champions to show his prowess to Ko Khalik. The man caught hold of a large goat and threw her across the river, with such strength that the goat fell in the Sangpoo (Ulligh) camp near Ko Khalik. On this Ko Khalik, who was very strong, and had reached his full manhood development, took up a large and heavy log of wood and threw it to such an extent the Mongols with such force that, though the log was much heavier than the goat, it fell into the Mongol camp across the river. Seeing this prowess on the part of Ko Khalik, the Mongols lost their courage, and giving up the idea of any further fighting, they removed on the same night. On learning Ko Khalik, seeing no resistance from Mongols, pursued them rapidly and caught them at Dashra, where Ko Khalik, having overtaken them on foot, fell into the soldiers' hands and was carried by them as a prisoner to Sadakhtikan, without knowing however to them that he was the Rik of Ulligh. There he was given the work of bringing wood for the Rik's kitchen. On a certain day when he was collecting wood he saw the head of a dead animal and began to weep over it. His companions asked him to explain the reason of his grief, but he made reply to none until the Rik of Sadakhtikan heard this news and sent for him to know the reason of his weeping. He related to the Rik that his grief was only because the head was that of an excellent kulyahn horse. Tuj Wughlat, seeing that the man had a good knowledge of animals, appointed him as a caretaker of his stable, and asked him to see if there was any [illegible] that a slave may be had with a kulyahn, and that the young animal should be

[illegible]

saloo cut by opening the belly of the mare, as otherwise she would die in a few days and the colt would be lost as well as the mother. The Mir gave him permission to cut the mare's belly. Thus obtaining the Mir's consent, he performed the operation and secured a magnificent foal. On this success he received a handsome reward and a *khilat* from the Mir. When the foal grew up Sa Shāh used to take it about with him. The animal is said to have turned out as swift and strong a steed that Sa Shāh brought him back from a regard of ten miles in four hours. Sa Shāh then engineered Taj Mughal that, as the animal had grown to its riding, he should hold a Darbar to perform the ceremony of riding the new steed. A day was fixed for the Darbar, and invitations were sent by the Mir to all the officials and headmen of the district. On the appointed day the magnificent Tukdār was brought by Sa Shāh to the crowded ground caparisoned with gold. When everything was ready, Sa Shāh begged the Mir to give his permission to show the speciality the animal's swiftness and mettle. It was given, and Sa Shāh who was armed ready, addressed the Mir in the following way :—

"I, who was brought by your sons as a captive from Gilgit, am Sa Shāh, the Rāi of that country, and now I am going back to my native land on this *tukdār* pony of yours. If it is to be your pleasure to accept our sons, pray tell your answer." Adieu!"

As soon as he had uttered the above words, he spurred the pony, and galloped away at full speed from the assembly. A number of riders on good ponies were sent after him by the Mir to arrest him whenever they could find him, but in vain, as no one could catch his escape one rides on a certain good steed. This man caught up Sa Shāh in Gujhal territory. On seeing him Sa Shāh stopped to await his arrival, and so satisfy his curiosity by seeing the excellent mare which had been able to compete with the *tukdār*. As soon as the man approached Sa Shāh, the latter informed him that one man like him was useless in attempting to arrest Sa Shāh, that he would lose his own life, and that it was better for him to return with the happy news that his mare was in fact with a *tukdār* colt. The rider was very pleased to hear this of his mare, and returned to Sadpārāhan to tell to the Mir that he had come back unsuccessful. From Gujhal Sa Shāh came to Yasin via the Darkot pass, and found that his sister was badly treated by her husband Farmaish, who had no fear of Sa Shāh, thinking that he would never return to his country. He was therefore severely punished by Sa Shāh. Now Sa Shāh is said to have been given a piece of advice by an old man of Yāsin who was well aware of his sudden fits of rage. These he was learnt to overcome by following the advice, which was not to punish with the weapons in hand, but to wait and search for others at a distance. When Sa Shāh reached Gilgit, he sent a message stating to his house by the side of his wife, and because so angry that he felt impelled to kill both his wife and the man by means of a big stone which was lying quite close to him. But he remembered the advice of the old Yasini and went out to search for a [illegible] and [illegible] Sa Shāh, [illegible] to show a good reward to his old Yasini adviser.

[illegible]

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and have at all times borne a high reputation for bravery. In former days, Chilas, with the neighbouring valleys of Darel and Gor, owed allegiance to Gilgit, but the Chilasis were notorious for the way in which they tyrannised over the whole surrounding country, making frequent raids, plundering and carrying off men, women, and children into slavery. The Cashmere, Kishengunga, Astor, and Gilgit Valleys were frequently laid under contribution, and they boast of having once plundered Iskardo. During the Sikh occupation of Cashmere, an expedition was sent against Chilas, but sustained a disastrous defeat. Permission was granted by the British Government, in 1851, to the Maharajah Golab Sing to exact reprisals for a successful raid, and two columns entered Chilas,—one from Cashmere by the Lolab Valley, and one from Astor by the Mazenoo Pass. The Chilas fort was taken, and the Chilasis made submission, agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of a hundred goats and five tolas of gold, and engaging that the fort of Chilas should not be re-built. Takh is now the only fortified place in Chilas. Since then Chilas has given no trouble to the Cashmere Government. Three hostages reside in Cashmere, and are changed yearly. Cashmere officials do not, however, visit the country, and any attempt to exercise authority would probably be resisted.

The love of music, dancing, and polo, which are so marked among all the neighbouring communities, are unknown in Chilas; and ponies, which are common enough elsewhere, are scarce.

The country is bare and treeless. The village of Chilas is situated about half a mile from the Indus, on a plain three miles in length, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, sloping gently down to the river. Boonar, though a dependency of Chilas, has paid a separate tribute to Cashmere of twelve goats and three tolas of gold since 1842. The Chilasis relate that in former times a Hindoo Rajah, named Chachai, ruled in Chilas over the whole of Shinkari, but that, during childhood and consequent minority and republican communities, as at present. In later days a disastrous civil war broke out in the community between two brothers, Bût and Matchuk, which ended in the defeat and expulsion of all the partizans of the latter. The Bûte are now the most prosperous family in Chilas.* Tradition still preserves the name of Naron, a

* This is perhaps the origin of the name "Bûtia," applied indiscriminately to all Dards by Cashmere officials.

Av3 Dard Av3

tutelary deity of Chilas whose worship was practised in former times. 173

The system of government is the same in all these small republics, and differs somewhat from what obtains among the Afghans. Each village, according to its size, has a certain number of Jushteros, or elders, who are appointed according to the general estimation in which they are held for bravery, liberality, and eloquence. They receive no benefit from their office, and are more the servants than the leaders of those they represent. Each village manages its own affairs irrespective of its neighbours, and it is in the superintendence of these details that the Jushteros are mostly occupied. All matters affecting the village are discussed in public. A meeting for this purpose is called *Sigao*. At the Sigao all who please join in the discussion, the Jushteros apparently encouraging individuals to give their advice, and when the general opinion has thus been elicited, the Jushteros announce the decision they have formed. At a Sigao of several villages, a single Jushtero is appointed by each village at a meeting previously held. At the close of the general discussion, which is open as before, a loud whistle is given, after which none but the representative Jushteros are allowed to speak. If war with a neighbouring valley is determined on, the Jushteros settle the way in which those they represent shall take part in it; but beyond their personal influence they have little voice in determining the general policy to be pursued. It is for them to decide who shall stay at home and who shall take the field, and in the innumerable disputes about land their decision is respected; but should the dispute involve men of another village, they are expected to do their best for their own townsmen. In more serious disputes the whole valley makes common cause against its neighbours; but this does not prevent all the communities quarrelling, when threatened by an external foe. Criminal offences are not dealt with by the Jushteros, but by the Mullahs, who profess to administer the law according to the Shuryat; this is, however, set aside in many instances in favour of ancient custom, which is very strong in some communities, and the prompt redress of grievances depends greatly on the personal influence of the aggrieved. Murder is regarded as a personal matter to be avenged by the nearest relative; but should the case be of a very wanton nature, and the family of the murdered individual have sufficient influence with the community, reparation is enforced by general consent. Blood feuds are not permitted to last for an indefinite period, as

431 422 423 422 [241] 692 713 727 600

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101 172 The ancient name of the place was Sargin. Later, the name of Gilit was given to it, and this has been changed to Gilgit by the Sikh and Dogra conquerors; but among the inhabitants it is still known as Gilit or Sargin-Gilit. Its identity with the Gahalata of ancient Sanscrit literature has been suggested.* A few remains still exist of ancient stone buildings, apparently of the same description as the Martund and Pandrethan temples in Cashmere. Their presence indicates that a considerable amount of wealth and scientific skill must once have existed in this remote valley, of which not even the tradition has survived.

162 177 The settled population of the Gilgit district, which is very mixed, amounts to about 4,500 persons. The language spoken is Shina, though the Shins are numerically inferior to the rest of the population. The Gilgit pronunciation of Shina is supposed to be more refined than the dialects spoken in neighbouring valleys, but of late it has received a large infusion of Cashmeri, Dogri, Hindustani, and Punjabi expressions. The former rulers had the title of Ra, and there is reason to suppose that they were at one time Hindoos, but for the last five centuries and a half they have been Mahommedans. The names of the Hindoo Ras have been lost, with the exception of the last of their number, Shiri Buddutt. Tradition relates that he was killed by a Mahommedan adventurer, who married his daughter and founded a new dynasty, since called Trakhand, from a celebrated Ra named Trakhan, who reigned about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The previous rulers, of whom Shiri Buddutt was the last, were called Shahrein. The present Ra of Gilgit, Alidad Khan, belongs properly to the ruling family of Nager, but was installed as representative of the Trakhand on account of his descent from that family through his mother, on the failure for the second time of direct male heirs.

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174 The population must have been at one time at least six or seven times as numerous as it is at present. High on the mountain sides up to an elevation of 10,000 feet, wherever the presence of water and the contour of the hill side permit, the ground is terraced and levelled, showing that it was once cultivated; but many generations have passed since its cultivation was abandoned. The period of greatest prosperity was probably under the Shin Ras, whose rule seems to have been peaceable and settled. The whole population, from the

* McCrindle's *Ancient India*.

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Burushe Av7

In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence B
at some remote period of a Mongol invasion, but no clue 173
exists to the approximate date. It is said to have taken place at a period before the separation of Hunza from Nager. In more recent times a prince of Nager is related to have visited Cashmere to seek assistance from Shah Jehan, which was granted, and the prince thereby enabled to expel his brother and make himself master of the country. Bernier mentions another prince from this neighbourhood, by name Bowali Khan, applying in a similar manner for assistance to Shah Jehan. This prince appears to have belonged to the family of the rulers of Iskardo or Shigar.

During the rule of Ghazanfur Khan, the father of the present Thum of Hunza, Nager was temporarily forced to give allegiance to the Hunza ruler, who had secured the active alliance of Suleiman Shah, of the Khushwakté family.

Returning into the Gilgit Valley, 19 miles above Gilgit, D
the Ponyal District is reached. This stretches for some 131
25 miles up to the Yassin frontier. Of old an appanage of D
Gilgit, Ponyal became in later times a bone of contention 973●
between the rulers of Yassin and Gilgit, who each possessed it in turn for a time, till it finally came into the possession of Cashmere in 1860. Soomalik, whose name will be found in the genealogy of the Gilgit Ras, is said to have given Ponyal as a dowry with his daughter to a prince of Chitral. At a later date it became an independent republic for a time, till a certain Shôt, a native of Darel, made himself Thum of Ponyal, but was shortly afterwards slain by Shah Pershah, of the Khushwakté family of Yassin, who established his son Boorroosh as ruler. The present Ra of Ponyal, Akbar Khan, is a descendant of Boorroosh, his father having been established and confirmed in his possession by the Cashmere Government in return for services rendered in the P
wars which finally established the Dogra rule on the right 648
bank of the Indus. Cashmere troops garrison Ponyal, and grave cases are under the jurisdiction of the Gilgit officials, but no revenue is paid either to Cashmere or to Akbar Khan, who receives in lieu a fixed subsidy from the Maharajah, in consideration of which he is bound to maintain a certain number of men to guard the frontier posts in time of peace, and to render military service in war. But for this arrangement, Cashmere would hardly have been able to make good its footing west of the Indus, and its success in this matter may be said to be entirely owing to the father of Akbar Khan.

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AVS Afghanistan 1879
4: AV3 Dard AV3
Burnsha AV7

are found. The Wuzeers are generally, though not always, chosen from among the Rono families. They exist in small numbers in Nager, Gilgit, and Ponyal, gradually increasing in numbers as one travels westward through Yassin, Mastooch, and Chitral, in which places there are said to be altogether over 300 families. In Nager and Yassin they call themselves Hara and Haraiyo,[1] and in Chitral Zundra, but they claim to be all of the same stock. Some exist in Wakhan and Sirikol, where they are called Khaibar-khatar; and in Shighnan, where they are called Gaibalik-khatar. Wherever they exist they are held in great respect. They have two principal traditions concerning their origin, both of which may contain a germ of truth. One is that they are descended from three brothers, Zoon, Rono, and Harai, the sons of a certain Soomalik who ruled in Mastooch before the establishment of the Shahreis line. The other is that they are of Arab blood, and descended from Mahommed Hanifa, the son of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Their small numbers, general distribution, and the universal estimation in which they are held, are evidence in favour of the first assertion, and it is possible that they may be descended from Arabs who settled in the upper part of the Chitral Valley at the time of the Arab conquest of Badakhshan, at the end of the seventh century. A claim to Arab descent is, however, very common among many sections of the inhabitants of these valleys, but it seems to rest on no real foundation. According to another version they came originally from Rajauri, near Poonch, and are descended from three brothers, Sirung, Soorsung, and Kanger Pistol.

In appearance they are generally taller than the other inhabitants of the country, with rather high cheek bones, oval faces not thickly bearded, and fairly developed features. Some of them resemble in features high-class Kaimoris. The esteem in which they are held is proved by the fact that they are able to give their daughters in marriage to the ruling families, and children born of such marriages are qualified to succeed to all the honours of the father's family, and intermarry with other ruling families. They also give daughters in marriage to Syuds, of whom there are a few scattered about the country, but not to the inferior castes. They, however, take daughters in marriage from both Shins and Yeshkuns. Children born of these unions rank as Ronos, and, if daughters, can, as above stated, intermarry with ruling families. The Zundré of Chitral do not refuse their daughters to the Afghans of Dir. Excep-

[1] [Members of the Rono Caste — Kyo 175]

[1] This name recalls the Haroys of the Zendavesta.

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4 AVJ Dard AVJ

the soil, and not to the ruler or the ruling class, who threaten in time to efface the original inhabitants. By them the local name of Boorishé has been converted into Woorshik, from which also the valley takes its name. I am unable to say to what language the term *goom* belongs, but it evidently means either "valley" or "country," as there are several instances of its application to signify the place inhabited by certain people, as Kalashgoom, the country of the Kalash. In Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, Yassin is sometimes called Azair, which may be the ancient name of the valley, but is more likely a corruption of the name Ghizr, a district of some importance further to the westward. The people of both Yassin and Chitral are also sometimes styled by their eastern neighbours Poré, and their country Poriaki, from *loor*, "the west." The fixed population of Woorshigoom is, owing to oppression and misgovernment, very small, probably not exceeding 3,000 souls. The soil is particularly rich and fertile, though the climate will not permit of its yielding more than one crop in the year. The ruling family are styled Khushwakté, from an ancestor named Khushwakt, and the title assumed is the Persian one of "Mihter." Reminiscences of the more ancient rulers exist in the names of certain spots, such as *Thum ras*, "the Thum's seat." The present Mihter, Gholam Mohi-oodeen, is better known by his nickname of Pehlowan Bahadoor. He is a young man of twenty-nine years of age, and of manly and energetic character, inherited from his father, Gohr Aman, whose cruelties in Gilgit have been related by Mr. Drew, but who with all his cruelty of disposition was undoubtedly an able and energetic soldier. Pehlowan Bahadoor succeeded his brother Moor Walli, when the latter was forced to fly from the country after the murder of Mr. Hayward. The princes of the Khushwakté family rule over a considerable part of Upper Chitral as well as Yassin, but generally prefer the latter as their place of residence.

From Yassin two roads lead to the Chitral valley. By the Toowi Pass, Mastooch can be reached in five days: this route, however, can only be used in summer, when it is the one most frequented, as by it the numerous river-crossings, which constitute the chief difficulty to be encountered, are avoided. The pass is a high one, probably not less than 16,000 feet, and a difficult piece of glacier has to be traversed. The second and easier, though longer, route is by Ghizr and Laspoor.

This road runs from the mouth of the Woorshigoom Valley

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First in rank comes the Sangallié, Rezaé, Mahomed Begé, and Khush Amaé, who are descended from the common ancestor and founder of the Katooré and Khushwakté families. They are generally spoken of as Shah Sangallié.[1] Next to them come the Zundré, or Ronos, of whom mention has already been made.[2] They are most numerous about Oyon. Below th Zundré comes a large class styled "Ashimadek." Their tans are—

Kashé.	Shaokié.
Atambegé.	Baiyeké.
Dushmunné.	Shighnié.
Ludkhé.	Borshimeé.
Bairambegé.	Majé.
Koshialbegé.	Jikaré.

The term Asimadek, which signifies "food-givers," is applied to all of these on account of their being bound to supply the ruler ad his retainers with food to the extent of eight sheep and eight kherwars of wheat from each house, whenever he passe through their villages. This is the only revenue of any description paid by them to the ruler, and those living in th more remote villages often remain for several years exempt from even this impost. The Shah Sangallié and Zundré are altogether exempt,—the former on account of their riationship to the present ruling family, and the latter becausethey are descended from a former race of rulers.

Among the Asimadek, the Shighnié and Kashé claim respectively to core from Shighnan and Kash (Kishm?), a village close to Jim, in Badakhshan. The names of many of the others show that they trace their descent from some individual, and thre appears little doubt that they are the descendants of [illegible] who settled in Chitral at the time of the establishment of the present ruling dynasty, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, whose founder they probably accompanied and aided. Their present position is not, however, due to conquest, but they appear to have gradually grown up as a large privileged class. They speak the Khowar language and form the most warlike part of the population.

In the upper part of the Ludkho Valley, above Drooshp, is a race who occupy the same position with regard to the Ashimadek as the Kho do in Kashkar Bala, and who are also styled

[1] See Katooré Genealogy.

[2] See page 36.

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4 AVJ Dard AVJ
Chitral

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"fakir mushkin." They are a portion of the race which occupies Munjan on the northern side of the Hindoo Koosh, and they speak the same language, with slight variation in dialect. They claim to have migrated from Munjan seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the ruler of Badakhshan, in which the Meer of Munjan was slain. They number about a thousand families, and, like the Munjanis, all belong to the Maulai sect. In Ludkho they call themselves Yidghâh,[1] and give the name of Yidokh to the whole valley with all its branches from the Hindoo Koosh to the Chitral river.

By the people of Badakhshan and the Oxus Valley north of the Hindoo Koosh the valley is called Injigan. The principal place is Drooshp. At Ludkho in the Tirich Valley there are a few families who speak a different language from their neighbours; but it appears doubtful whether it is a purely separate language, or only a mixture of the dialects spoken around them.

Below Chitral the mixture of tribes becomes still more puzzling. On the western side are the two small valleys of Kalashgoom and Bidir, inhabited by Kalash Kaffirs, who have long been subject to Chitral. The villages of Jinjuret, Loi, Sawair, Nager, and Shishi are also inhabited by Siah Posh, who have become Mahommedans, though in other respects they adhere to their ancient customs. They speak the Kalash language.[2]

Tradition relates that the whole Chitral Valley was once occupied by Kaffirs; but it is impossible to say whether by this term a tribe of the Siah Posh is indicated, or merely that the people in question were not Mahommedans. At Madaglusht is a small Badakhshi colony who speak Persian. Ashuret, Beorai, Poorgal, and Kalkatak[3] are inhabited by a tribe, said to speak a language cognate with Shina, who are still styled Dangarias by their neighbours, though they have long ago embraced Islam. The term Dangarik would seem to show that they were Hindoos before being converted. The villages of Pasinger, Birkote, Langorbat, Gud, Narisat, Maimena, Sukai, Nawakali, and Choondak are inhabited by a tribe who call themselves Gubber, but are called by their neighbours Narisati.[4] Their name would seem to connect them with the Gabaré of the

[1] See Appendix J.
[2] An account of the Kalash language is given in Dr. Leitner's work.
[3] This is evidently the Culkatak of Vigne.
[4] See Appendix G.

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Hian and his companions must have travelled either through Hunza down to Gilgit, and so on to Darel, or, more probably, across the Pamir, which would account for the mention of their route proceeding westward from Sirikol, and into the Gilgit Valley by the Durkot Pass, as suggested by Beal. From the Gilgit Valley they would naturally take the route to Darel up the Kergah Valley, at the mouth of which is the rock figure in question. This would certainly have been their most direct route to the Punjab. Striking the Indus (Sin-to) at the mouth of the Darel Valley, they must have followed the course of the river for several days, and reached Swat (Su-ho-to) by one of the lateral routes, such as that by Ghorbund.

Whether or not this be the actual figure mentioned by Fah-Hian, his account enables the date of the introduction of Buddhism into these valleys to be approximately fixed at about 150 B. C., or three hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha.

The account now given of the figure is, that in ancient times a *Deonee*, or female demon who preyed on men, lived in the ravine, from which she sallied forth to seize passers-by; her custom being to devour only half of her prey, that is, if she seized two men, she devoured one and left the other; if she seized one, she only ate half of her victim. One day a holy man arrived who undertook to free the country of the demon. The Deonee sallied out as usual to seize him, but by the power of the holy man was turned into stone, and fixed to the rock. Being soon after desirous of leaving the country, the holy man told the people that, to ensure the continuance of the spell by which the demon had been rendered powerless, it was necessary that at his death he should be buried at the foot of the rock, and stringently charged them to be careful to bring back his body for the purpose from whatever place in which he might chance to die.

The people of Gilgit, according to the account of their descendants, took a very practical view of the case. They said that they could not be at the trouble of searching for, and bringing back, his body from any distant place he might chance to die in, with the risk of the demon being restored to life in case of failure, so they chopped off his head there and then, and buried him as directed. At the foot of the rock is a tomb which is pointed out as that of the unlucky saint.

Buddhism was no doubt the religion of the country at the time of the Shin invasion. There seem, however, to be good grounds for supposing that the religion of the Shins was of the Brahminical type.

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fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

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The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

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The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to per-

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The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkand*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—Sri *Buddha Datta*

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their descent. Allowing twenty-five years for each generation, this would place the first appearance of Mahommedanism in Gilgit at about the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century—a time when that faith had already spread over the more accessible parts of Central Asia. It is to be noted that this exactly corresponds with the time when Islam was first introduced into Cashmere, which, according to Ferishta, happened between A. D. 1315 and 1326. General Cunningham, by computing thirty years for each generation, and fifteen for the reign of each ruler, places the introduction of Mahommedanism into Khapolor about a century later.[1] According to one tradition Azor came from Iskardo, and in the genealogy of the Makpon princes, a Mahommedan adventurer is shown to have established himself in that place at exactly the same time, if the same computation be allowed for the duration of a generation.

It is not, however, probable that the usurper would have been in a position to attempt the forcible conversion of his new subjects; and it may be presumed that, for a long period, his descendants contented themselves with practising their own faith, with, no doubt, greatly relaxed stringency, without interfering with that of their subjects. It is not till eight generations of rulers later, which would represent a period of two centuries, that we meet with a Mussulman Thum in the neighbouring state of Nager. There was, probably, a fresh impulse given to Mahommedanism about the end of the sixteenth century, for it was at about that period that a Persian adventurer, the founder of the present ruling families of Chitral and Yassin, established himself in Kashkar. The names of those whose kingdom he usurped are lost, the only record being that they were of the Shahreis family, which is the name by which the Gilgit rulers previous to the time of Azor were known, and which was retained by the descendants of the usurper for [illegible] of the sixteenth century, speaks of Chitral as forming part of Kafiristan, "in the hill-country to the north-east lies Kafiristan, such as Kattor and Gebrek."[2] But on several occasions he distinguishes this Kafiristan from Kafiristan Pich (which is still a Kafir country), as if some difference existed between the two. It is probable, therefore, that though the faith of Islam was introduced into the country mentioned about the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was long confined to

[1] Cunningham's Ladakh, [illegible]
[2] Erskine's Memoirs of Babur, page [illegible]

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A [illegible] L: Cunningham, A Sketch of the Tibetans [illegible] Analyst]

4 Av3 Dard Av2 Burusha Av7

a limited number of the inhabitants, and did not become general till the middle or end of the sixteenth century. Even then its acceptance was so irregular that it is not surprising that Hindooism has lingered on, and has only become extinct in the present day.

The tribes of the Indus Valley were exposed earlier to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Boneyr, and this has led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less tractable race than their neighbours, make it their boast that, though travellers and traders are safe in their country, no Shiah ever escapes out of their hands. At Gor, also, a few miles above Chilas, the people are all Soonnees, but a lower type of Mahommedanism prevails, and prayers were till recently addressed to the god Taiban, whose horse is sculptured on the rock near the village.

In Gilgit the population is now three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Moulais, and it is related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who now still adhere to the Moulai tenets, are mostly old men, who keep the fact concealed as far as possible, and call themselves Shiahs. At Soonnee, a secluded village in Yasin, the people, though professed Mussulmans, still make offerings to the god Shukun. In several other places the names of local deities are still preserved, and objects, such as a peculiar-shaped rock near a village, are still regarded with veneration, and invoked in the registration of solemn covenants.

The influence of the Iskardo Princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Moulais have made their way from the Gor Valley across the pass. Shiahs of the orthodox type, and so are two-thirds of the people of Bultistan; the rest belong to the Noor Bukah sect. In Hunza, till a few years ago, Shiah tenets found many followers; now the Meer and the whole population are Moulais.

The Shiahs in these countries lament the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year; once at the usual time according to the Mahommedan calendar, and again in the month of August, the season at which they say the martyrdom actually occurred.

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Next in rank to the Pirs are Caliphas, whose duty consists in little more than the collection of offerings. The Pirs each correspond direct with Agha Khan.

The Maulais must not be confounded with the Maulavi sect of dancing Dervishes, with whom they have nothing in common. They assert that their sect was founded by the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik (the just), a descendant of Ali, by the daughter of the Prophet, who died A.H. 148. Abou Mahommed Hossain, however, writing in the *Zahdat-ul-akhbar*, says, that Mahommed, surnamed Mahdi, who claimed to be sixth in descent from the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik, founded the sect, who were first known as Ismailyan,[1] in Egypt in the year A.H. 299. His followers recognised him as the twelfth Imam, and quoted a supposed saying of the Prophet Mahommed that every 300 years the sun would rise in the west, explaining that Mahommed Mahdi's preaching 300 years after the Hijra was a fulfilment of the prophecy. Abou Yezid, a Moslim who questioned Mahommed Mahdi's descent from Jaffer Ali Sadik, on the plea that Ismail's only son had died childless, was proclaimed to be Dejjal (Antichrist). The conquest of Egypt by Sultan Sala-ud-deen Yusuf destroyed the temporal power of the sect in that country. They were, at that time, ruled by Azid, a descendant of Mahommed Mahdi. Meanwhile, the tenets of the sect had been brought to Persia by Hassan-i-Sabbah, an Arab of the tribe of Himyar in Yemen, who established himself later in Alamut, where his grandson, on the seventh day of the Ramazan, A.H. 559, publicly proclaimed that fasting and other observances of the Shariyat were no longer obligatory.

Colonel Yule, in his notes on the Travels of Marco Polo, has given an interesting account of the "old man of the mountain," whose representative he recognises in Agha Khan. The Oxus Valley belong to the sect of Assassins, and are an offshoot of the sect to which the Druses of the Lebanon belong. They call themselves Mughuns, Maulais, or Mawalis indifferently. Mr. Drew suggests that the name is derived from Maula, an Arabic name for God. The appellation may equally claim to be a corruption of Mowahidoon, the name by which the Druses still call themselves, or Mulahidah, from *Mulhad*, "an infidel," the name given to the sect in old times.

[1] So named from Ismail, son of Imam Jaffer.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE GILGIT PRINCES.

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THE history of the Gilgit rulers rests only on oral tradition and popular songs connected with the names of different princes. Did more trustworthy records exist, they would probably contain little of real interest. The genealogies of their respective families, which were supplied to me independently by the present representatives of the Trakhané, Mogh-lot, and Ayraké families, correspond well with each other in the number of generations, and are probably correct, or very nearly so. In the *Historical Legend of Gilgit*, Dr. Leitner has given an account of the earliest occurrence in the tangible history of the country. Several versions of the legend are extant, but the historical outline in all is the same. Stripped of all supernatural additions, the facts related are, that Gilgit was the abode of a prince of the name of Shiri Buddutt, whose rule extended over Hunza, Nagar, Darel, Chilas, Astor, Haramosh, Gurais, Yasin, and Chitral. Many of these places were no doubt governed by inferior princes who acknowledged allegiance to Gilgit. The people, suffering under the oppression of Shiri Buddutt, were relieved by an adventurer of the name of Azor, who is represented as having come from the direction of Iskardo, and, according to some versions, as being the brother of the Iskardo ruler, to rise and put him to death. Having slain the tyrant, Azor espoused his daughter, established Mahommedan names. In spite of the supernatural attributes now assigned to him, there can be no doubt that Shiri Buddutt was a real personage; the term Shiri is doubtless the title of respect still given to Hindoo princes.

Allowing 25 years to each generation, the usurpation by Azor must have occurred about the commencement of the 14th century, and there can be little doubt that it marks the extinction of the Shin princes, and the introduction of Mahommedanism into the valley. It is worthy of note that the genealogy of the Mahzuns of Iskardo[1] shows exactly the same number of

[1] See page 148

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generations from their founder as that of the Trakhand. From this it may be inferred that the introduction of Islam into Baltistan and Gilgit was simultaneous, and in both cases owing to the same cause. General Cunningham, by allowing 20 years to a generation, places it a century earlier than the date I have mentioned.

Under the Shin rule Hunza and Nagar appear to have been under one prince, whose capital was Nagar. His allegiance was no doubt transferred to Shin Buddhut's successor, but it is not till eight generations later, or about the beginning of the 16th century, that we find a Nagar ruler with a Mahommedan name. This prince married a daughter of the Gilgit ruler, and became the father of the twins Moghlot and Girkin, the latter of whom founded the principality of Hunza.

Mirza Khan, the sixth in succession from Azor, is celebrated in song and story as the most warlike of the older Ras of Gilgit. He is said to have been poisoned by his own wife, in revenge for the death of her seven brothers who had opposed Mirza Khan in the field. From Trakhan, his successor, the present Ra's family, derive their name. This would seem to point to a break in the direct line of descent, were it not that in the genealogies of Iskardo, Chitral, Yasin, Hunza, and Nagar we also find the present ruling families taking their names, not from the reputed founder of their line, but from some intermediate ancestor. Trakhan is said to have been a posthumous child of Mirza Khan, and it is related that he was set afloat in a box on the river by his mother. At Hudar he was rescued by a poor man who brought him up among his own children, and he was eventually acknowledged as the rightful Ra of Gilgit.

Sumsulik, the son of Trakhan, who is sometimes also called Gilit Malika, is related to have been taken prisoner and carried into Badakhshan, where he remained, unable to escape, for several years. Many wonderful stories are told of his [illegible] for,[1] plays a conspicuous part. He is said to have had three sisters, one of whom married Maiyrun Khan of Nagar, the second married Feramory, a prince of Yasin, and the third married a prince of Iskardo. There would, however, appear to be some confusion between this Sumsulik and the Ra of the same name five generations later. The Gilgit and Nagar genealogies agree so exactly as to the number of generations,

[1] "Gau Pahar" is a very small horse, possessing extraordinary powers of endurance, supposed to be the offspring of a horse and mare, which have both reached maturity at one year old. It plays a conspicuous part in Chitral tales.

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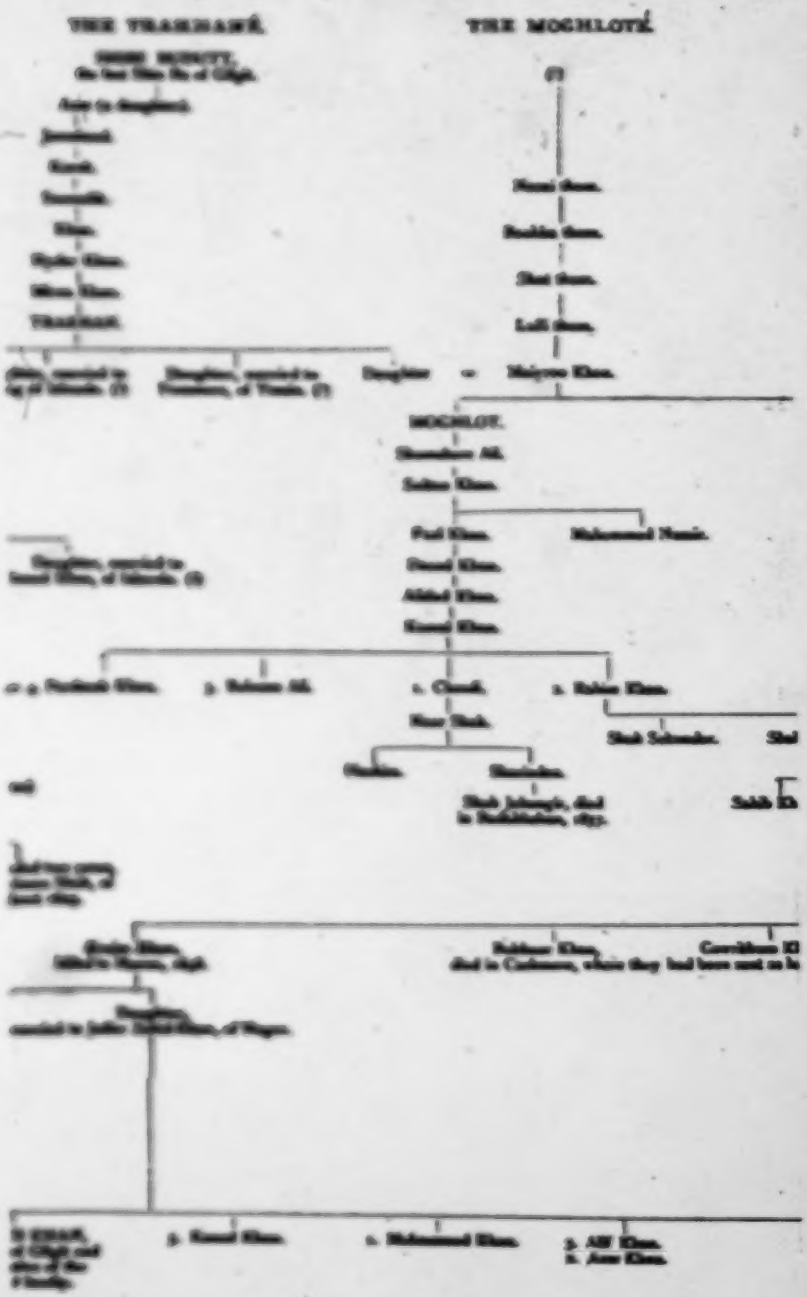

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GIT), THE MOGHLOTE (NAGER), AND AYESHE (HUNZA)

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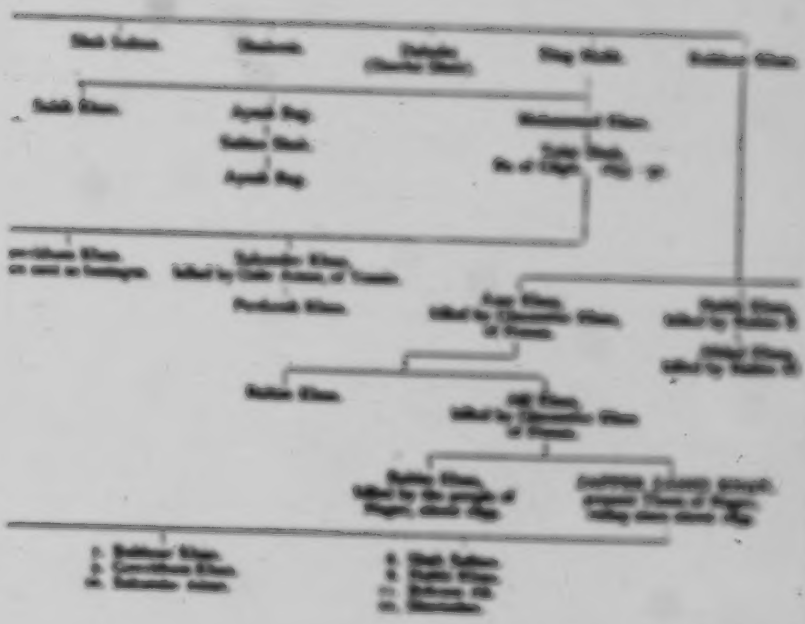

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NEAL FAMILIES

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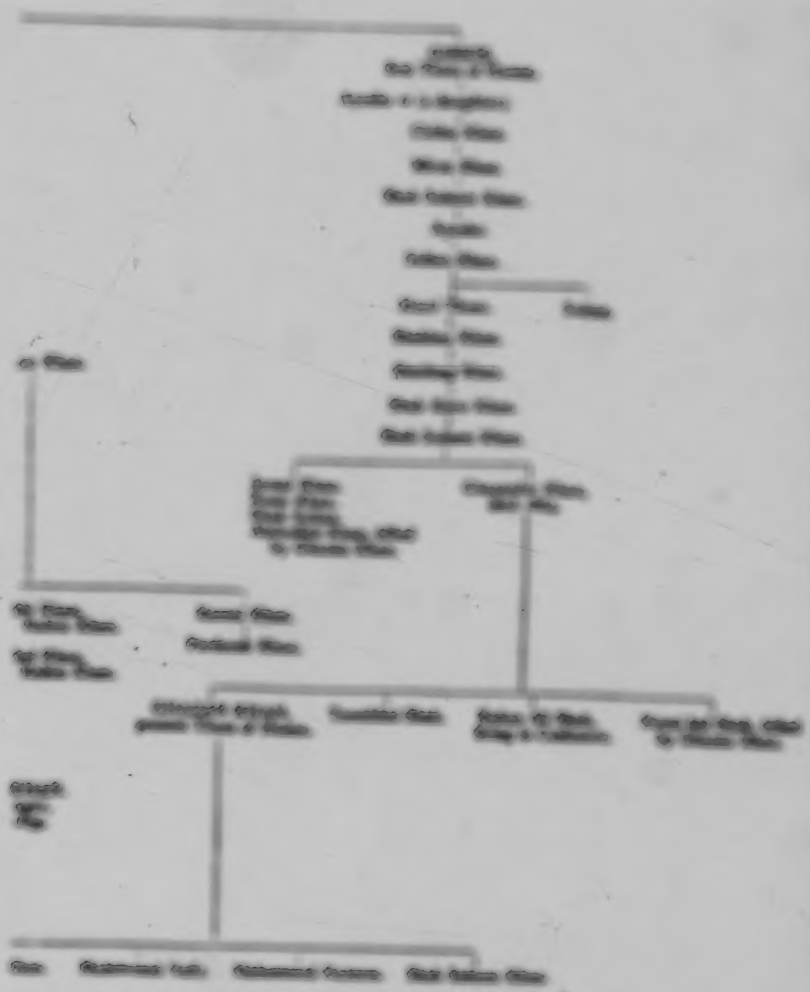

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ve to have no doubt that the sister of Sumalik who married
• 173 Mulgrao Khan, was the sister of the first Ra of this name.
But the same tradition also states most positively that the
B sister who married the Mulgao prince of Ishorlo was the
173 mother of the three warlike brothers, Shaw Shah, Ali Shah,
and Shah Warud, who aided Sumalik in his wars against
Yasin. Now, General Cunningham fixes the date of these bro-
thers at about A.D. 1600, and this, compared with the num-
ber of generations accounted for in the various genealogies,
shows that their mother must have been sister to the second
Sumalik, the son of Ali Shaw Khan. The Yasin prince
who is said to have married Sumalik's second sister, cannot
be identified in the Khushwakt genealogy, but the name given
is common in that family, which was not founded till after the
time of the first Sumalik.

During the lifetime of the three Mulgao brothers above
mentioned, Gilgit was apparently tributary to them, or more
especially to Ali Shah, the founder of the Kundu family.

Wrez, the grandson of the second Sumalik, and his
daughter Jewari, are still favourite subjects for Gilgit songs.
Under Wrez a successful raid was made on Gurais, which
would appear, before that time, to have slipped from the
grasp of the Gilgit Ras, and there are many indications that
their power steadily decreased, in spite of temporary triumphs,
from the day of the extinction of the Shin dynasty. While
on a friendly visit to Nagar, Wrez was treacherously slain
by Kamal Khan, and as he left no sons, an attempt was
apparently made to establish a prince of the Mughlot family
in Gilgit. Jewari, who, having married an Ishorlo ruler, had
been left a widow and childless, consented to marry Pardumah,
of Nagar, to whom she bore Habib Khan. It is related that
when Habib Khan was twelve years old Pardumah was publicly
told that Jewari had only consented to marry him to secure
the succession of the Trakhani, and that now the money he
returned to Nagar the latter it would be for him—a fact
which he was not slow to take. Jewari then abdicated in favour
of her son, who in time became the father of Suleiman Khan,
the last Ra of Gilgit who maintained anything approaching
to the power of his predecessors. Suleiman Khan, who is
better known under his assumed name of Gowerihun[1] Khan, is
said to have ruled fifty-three years, and was in the end mur-

[1] The use of the name of Gower, the wife of Shihabdin, shows how long the memory of Gowerihun lingered after the first conversion to Islam, while the existence of the Gowrik, or Buddhist shrines in the population is shown by the use of the title Thum.

dered about A.D. 1803 by the Khushwakt Prince Suleiman Shah, who had sought refuge in Gilgit from the enmity of his own brother. A rumour of a threatened attack from Hunza had drawn away most of his attendants, and as the aged Ra sat in his garden he was slain, together with his Wazir, by the man to whom he had given protection.

From this time the prosperity of Gilgit seems to have rapidly declined, and it became the prey of rival families whose wars almost depopulated the valley, until the firm establishment of Dogra rule gave the country what may be hoped in time to become a fresh lease of prosperity. Suleiman Shah fled to Yasin after the murder without attempting to establish himself in Gowrichum Khan's seat, which was occupied by Muhammad Khan, the rightful heir. In 1804 Wazir Aman of the Khushwakt family died, and was succeeded in Yasin by his brother Karam Khan, who gave Punyal, which seems to have come into the possession of the Yasin rulers about A.D. 1780, to his brother Shere Shah. Karam Khan had hardly taken possession when Muhammad Khan invaded Punyal, but was repulsed. The two brothers following up their advantage too hastily were entrapped in some broken ground and killed. Muhammad Khan's triumph was of short duration. His victory had the effect of making his enemy, Suleiman Shah, ruler of Yasin. Suleiman Shah seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and in less than a year he had recovered the greater part of Punyal. In the following year he invaded and took Gilgit and carried Muhammad Khan a prisoner to Yasin, leaving in Gilgit Akbar Khan, a younger son of Gowrichum Khan, who swore allegiance to him. Akbar Khan soon tried to renounce his allegiance, and in 1809 Suleiman Shah again invaded and took Gilgit and put to death both Muhammad Khan and Akbar Khan. Asghar Ali, the son of Muhammad Khan, fled to Nagar, but Suleiman Shah's influence was sufficient to procure his being put to death, and the sole remaining representative of the Trakhtani was an infant daughter of Muhammad Khan, through whom the line is now perpetuated. Suleiman Shah then formed the idea of incorporating Gilgit with Yasin, and made the former his chief place of residence. In 1813 Suleiman Shah, being engaged on an invasion of Chitral, placed Azad Khan of the Shumrodat family, in Dranan with a garrison of Gilgitis. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Azad Khan prevailed on the garrison to espouse his cause, abandoned his post, and hastened to Gilgit, where he was accepted by the people as their Ra. The

people soon found that Azad Khan's rule was not less tyrannical than that of Suleiman Shah, and again sought a change of oppressors. The Trakhané family was virtually extinct, but the Mughlani family had been connected with it for so many generations that they were looked on as the natural heirs to the principality. Consequently, Tahir Shah, a younger son of the Mughlani, was induced to accept the Ra-ship of Gilgit, and on his arrival accompanied by a small force from Hunza, Azad Khan was at once seized and put to death in 1833.

After a short reign of between three and four years, Tahir Shah died and was succeeded by his younger son Sikandar Khan, in whose favour Karim Khan, who was a man of weak character, had been set aside. His rule was short and troubled. Immediately after Tahir Shah's death the Gurais mallks made an unexpected raid on Gilgit, and succeeded in gaining possession of the fort by surprise, with the exception of the inner redoubt. This held out long enough to allow of the people assembling to the Ra's assistance, and the invaders were slain to a man. Hardly had this danger been surmounted, when Gilgit was invaded by Golab Aman, who had lately succeeded to the throne of Yasin. Sikandar Khan, being able to offer but a feeble resistance, contented himself by occupying a strong position which could only be assailed on one side. After a blockade which lasted many months, he was taken prisoner and put to death in 1842. Karim Khan then sought refuge in Cashmere, while Golab Aman established himself in Gilgit. Like many of the Khushwakt family, he seems to have possessed considerable energy and ability, but his blood-thirsty cruelty, which seemed to be directed especially against the people of Gilgit, threatened to depopulate the country. Whole villages were driven into slavery, and whole districts ruined, apparently to gratify his resentment. The misery inflicted by this man is almost beyond belief, and his name is still never mentioned without horror. A certain Syud in Badakhshan is still known by the nickname of *Syud Sad Bandai*, in consequence of his having accepted a present of a hundred Gilgiti slaves from Golab Aman. Numbers of Gilgitis are still living in slavery in Badakhshan, Bukhara, Khokand, and other neighbouring countries. Every year strugglers of different ages find their way back, after slavery and wanderings of the greater part of a lifetime, from Turkestan, Samarcand, and other parts of Central Asia. It was, therefore, with much gratitude that the people welcomed a Sikh force, whose aid Karim Khan had secured, and which had been despatched

by the Governor of Cashmere. They were at first repulsed, but advancing a second time they defeated Gohr Aman and installed Karim Khan as Ra of Gilgit under their protection in September 1842. Six years later Karim Khan was slain, together with the Sikh Governor, while invading Hunza. Eleven years later again his son Mohammed Khan dying childless, the nominal, as well as the actual, ownership of Gilgit devolved on the Dogras, who had succeeded the Sikhs in Cashmere. Not wishing to leave Gilgit without a nominal Ra, the Cashmere Government summoned from Nagar the present Ra, Ahdad Khan, the infant son of the Nagar ruler, who, through his mother, was still held to represent the Trakhani line, and installed him when only one year old. A son of Asghar Ali is still living in Cashmere, but, being born of a slave mother, he was held incapable of succeeding.

Mr. Drew has given a succinct account of the events which led to the consolidation of the Hindoo power on the right bank of the Indus. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of Cashmere rule may be when judged by a European standard, it has undoubtedly conferred on this part of the country an amount of prosperity and security which could not have been attained under the Khushwakt family, to whose group it would otherwise have remained. Freedom from the liability to be sold as slaves alone outweighs the disadvantage of being ruled by men of a different faith. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, of the inhabitants of Gilgit over 50 years of age, nearly half have passed some portion of their lives in slavery. There is not a family of which one or more of their members have not been lost in this way. The stories of their wanderings told by many are full of interest, and many curious scenes occur on occasions of their return. On one occasion a young man arrived, who had been carried off when a child to Arwa. From his companions in slavery he had learned his name and that of his father, who received him with open arms; but, having been all the time in Yin, where the Shina language is not spoken, he could not converse with his father for several weeks except through an interpreter. On another occasion a "chinam" appeared from Shahidullah, avowing himself to be the brother of the Wazeer, whose mother and brother had been sold into slavery thirty years before. His coming being rumored beforehand, the fatted calf was killed, and great preparations made to receive him by his aged mother, who had herself been enslaved from slavery only ten years before.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE YARGUN AND CHITRAL PRINCES

• 173 THE family name of the rulers of Chitral is Katoor. The name Katur seems to have been applied to the country in early times, before the present Katoor family was founded. Babur writes in his Memoirs:—

"To the hill country to the north-east (of Cabul) lies Kafiristan, such as Katur and Gebrek."

Going further back, General Cunningham identifies the name Katoor with Kinda, the king of the Great Yuechi, who, in the beginning of the 5th century, conquered Balkh and Gandhara, and whose son established the kingdom of the Little Yuechi at Peshawar.

Later, the name appears in the *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* and the *Tuzuk-ul-Timuri*.

"In the list of the Turk dynasty of Cabul kings, who preceded the Ghaznivides, the last is called Katoor, King of the Katurs."

"And Kutb returned to his country and to rule the line of the Katoorman kings."[1]

According to the line of reasoning followed by General Cunningham, it would appear that a dynasty of Indo-Scythic kings who established themselves temporarily in Cabul, derived their name of Katoor from their having come from Chitral, that is to say, that the name Katoor belonged to Chitral at an altogether earlier date. Nothing is more probable than that a line of rulers of Yuechi blood established themselves at one time in Chitral, but I do not see what evidence there is to show that the name Katoor was not introduced by them, and did not belong to the country previously. This presumption is borne out by General Cunningham's identification of the Kattir tribe, now beyond east of the Indus in the neighbourhood of Hassan Abdal, as descendants of the Yuechi. The Yuechi occupation of Chitral was co-

[1] Elliot's Ancient Historians of India.
Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc., Vol. IX. Paper by E. Thomas, on the Coins of the Princes of the Hindoo Kings of Cabul.

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173 tainly most superficial, for there is no tribe mentioned in this work which shows all the characteristics of an Aryan race of pure blood in a higher degree than the poorer population of that state.

172 Opposite the village of Barenis, 20 miles above Chitral, is a figure with an inscription in ancient Sanscrit rudely cut upon a rock. General Cunningham has kindly favoured me with the following reading of the inscription: *Deva dharmasya Raja Jiva Pala*—"The pious gift of Raja Jiva Pala." This inscription refers, in all probability, to a building, of which the figure is a facsimile, erected somewhere near. General Cunningham tells me that from the character used, it cannot belong to an earlier period than the 3rd century A.D., and the date of it is probably a good deal later. The name Jiva Pala is, no doubt, the Jeipal of early Mahommedan writers. According to Al-Biruni, the fourth King of Cabul, who succeeded Kanik, whose period was about A.D. 900, was named Jeipal, and his rule may have extended to Chitral. The figure is Buddhistic, and is interesting, as helping to show that Buddhism existed in Chitral before Mahommedanism.

173 The earliest traditions now existing of the Chitral Valley relate to a certain king Bahman,[1] an idolater whose rule extended eastward as far as Partan, in the Indus Valley, and who dwelt at Mastuguz in the Mastuj Valley. During his reign an Arab army conquered Badakhshan, slew Zangbar[2] the ruler of Wakhan, and invaded Chitral by the Yarkhoon Valley, where they were met by Bahman. Among the invaders were two champions, named Sadoonk and Lalkanook, who challenged individuals in the Chitral army to a trial of strength. King Bahman, who was famed for his skill in martial exercises, accepted the challenge in person, and for a whole day wrestled with one of the champions in view of both armies, without either gaining the advantage. On the second day, when Bahman allowed himself to renew the contest, the other Arab champion was substituted without his knowledge, and, exhausted by his struggles of the previous day, he was vanquished, and carried bound to the Arab Chief, who, by a curious anachronism, is said to have been Homza, the uncle of the Prophet.[3] Bahman, consenting to render

[1] See also page 156.

[2] The exact identification given by the Shah Nameh to their country to Wamakhan, which may have some connection with this name.

[3] The name is still found in Wakhan, where a ruined fort, called Kila Zangbahan, is pointed out. See Wood's Oxus, page 218.

[4] Homza, the Prophet's uncle, was slain at the battle of Ohud A.D. 625, but the first Arab invasion of Badakhshan did not take place till the middle of the 7th century.

4 AVJ Dard AVJ

[173] allegiance, was released, and the Arab Chief retired to Madaim in Persia. After a few years Bahman, by renouncing his allegiance, invoked a second invasion, which also terminated in his submission, but on his rebelling yet again he was put to death.

Later, the country was ruled by a succession of princes styled Rois, the name which is also given to Gilgit rulers of Shiri Buddhist's line. They are sometimes said to have belonged to the Makpon family of Iskardo. Their names have not been preserved, but it is related that during the rule of one of them, a Calmak (Chinese) army, in alliance with a prince of Badakhshan, invaded and subdued the country. This is spoken of as occurring after the death of Abdoollah Khan, the Usbek. During the Chinese occupation, a Chitrali ravished a female slave of the Chinese leader, and a general slaughter of the inhabitants was in consequence ordered. For three days the massacre proceeded, after which the survivors were seized and carried off to Badakhshan. To test the completeness of the depopulation, a whip was left hanging on a tree in a conspicuous place, and, after inscribing their achievements on a stone, the invaders departed. After a year a messenger was sent to bring the whip, which he found untouched, and returning to Badakhshan he reported that he had not seen a living soul in the country. On receipt of this report a fresh hide was spread in front of the door of the fort, in which the Chitrali prisoners were confined, and they were made to pass out over it one by one. When a sufficient number had passed out to wear a hole in the hide, they were allowed to depart to their own country, and those who remained were put to death.

Towards the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, Chitral was ruled by a Rois who is said to have been of the same family as the rulers of Gilgit before the introduction of Mahommedanism. His name has not been preserved, but he was apparently a Mahommedan, as his tomb is still preserved in Chitral. There is some reason for supposing that he belonged to the Makpon (Iskardo) family, as some branches of the Makpon family still speak of him as an ancestor. He was childless, but adopted as his son a certain Baba Eyoob, said to have been of a noble Khorasan family, who had settled in Chitral and ingratiated himself with the ruler. On the Rois' death he was accepted by the people as their prince and assumed the title of Mihtar, which his descendants still retain. The third in succession from him was

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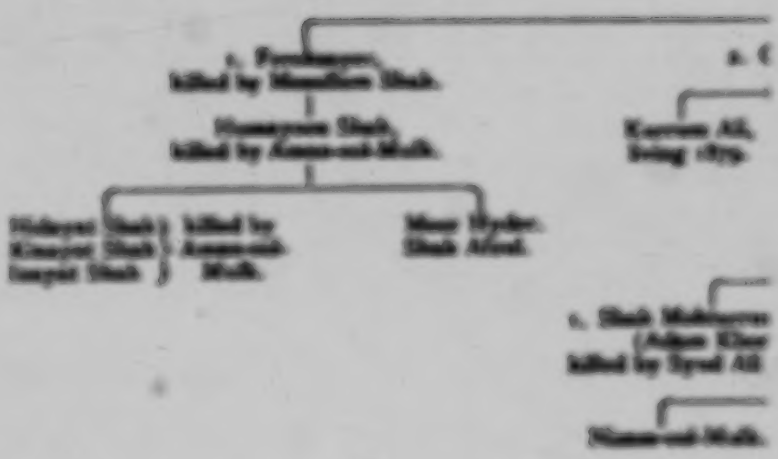

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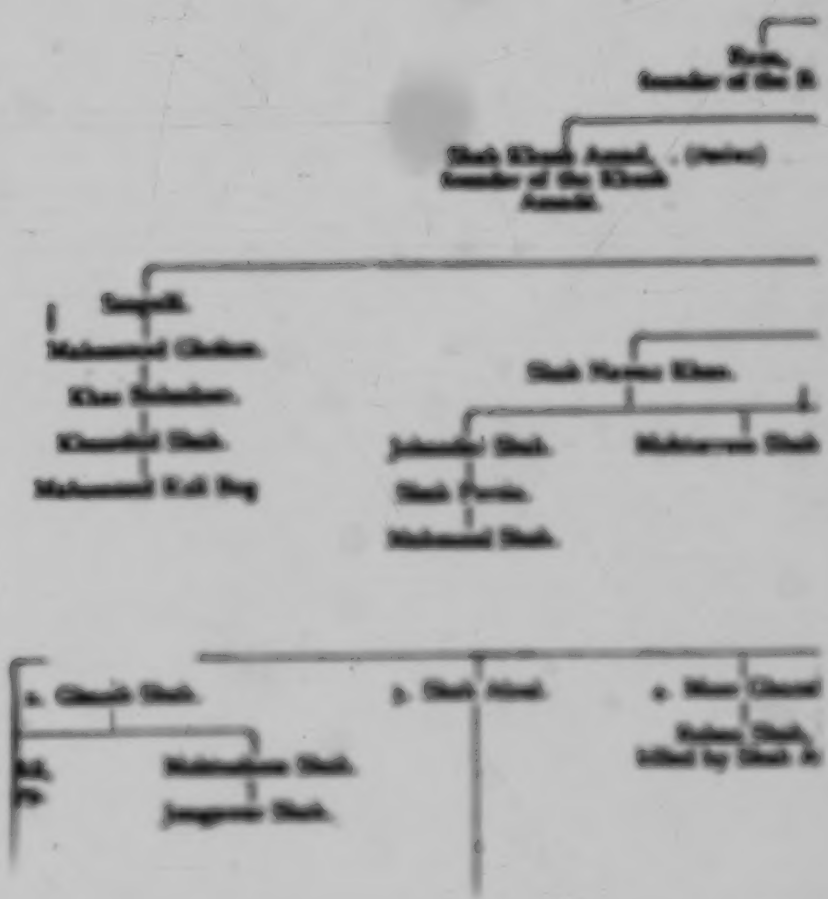
GENEALOGY OF

• 173



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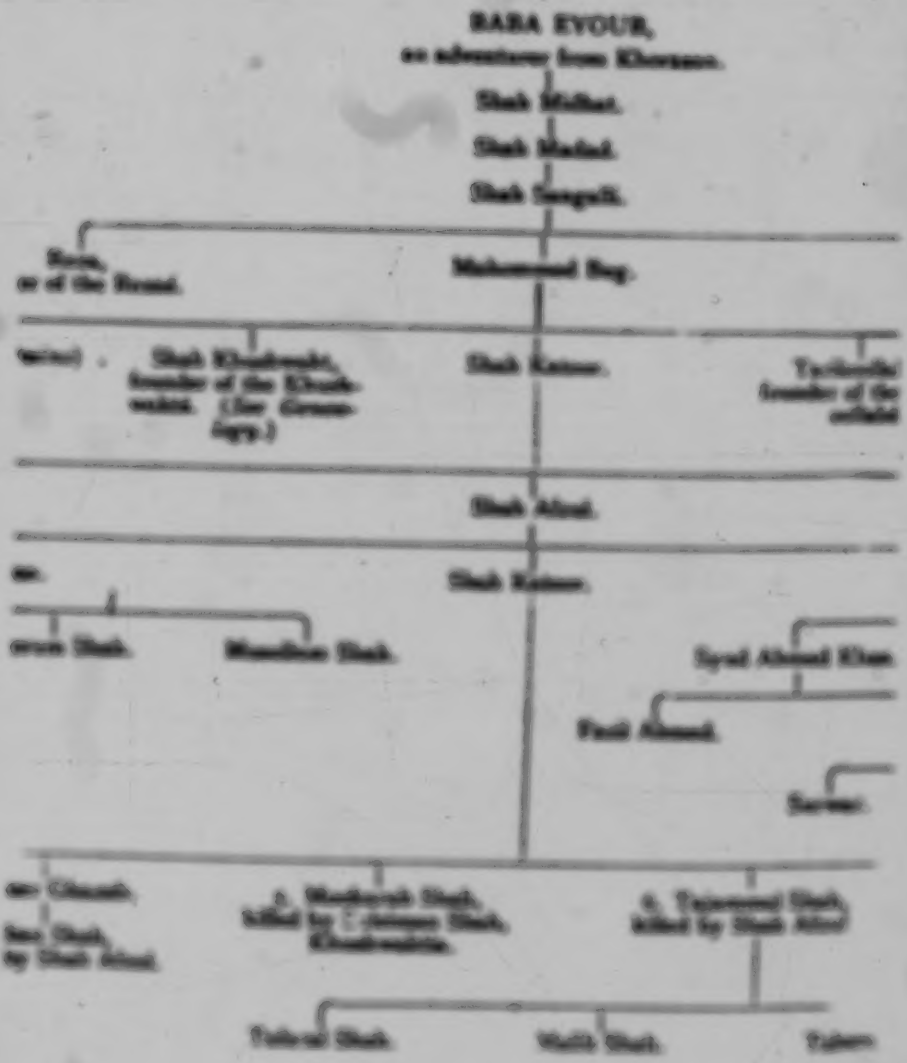
OF THE KATOORE OF CHITRAL.

173



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173 Siddiqis G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3

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4 Ar3 Dard Ar3

• 173 Shah Sangali, who, being the first of the family to establish a reputation for warlike prowess, is often spoken of as the founder of the family. To his son Mahammad Beg were born twins, happily named Khush Amad and Khush Wakt. The former was, however, wanting in ability, and was set aside in favour of another son Katore, from whom the present Katoorè family are descended. Khush Wakt was established in Mastooch as a semi-independent ruler, and became the founder of the Khush Wakté branch. It is uncertain whether Yassin at this time belonged to one of the Chitral family or to the Gilgit rulers, but it probably belonged to the latter. In the next generation the extension of the Khush Wakté family, which was only arrested by the intervention of the Sikhs, seems to have begun.

Khush Wakt is said to have been slain by the Chinese at Koghozé, near Chitral, but the details have not been preserved. Though the Chinese figure in many episodes of Chitral history, no tradition exists of the country having been permanently tributary to them. Khush Wakt's son, Forameez, was a notable warrior, whose exploits are still spoken of with enthusiasm. He conquered Yassin, forced his cousins of Chitral to give allegiance to him, and made himself master of the valley down to Chughan Serai, besides subduing the Punjkorah Valley and part of Swat. His nephew Khush Amad, the second of the name, was ruling in Mastooch when Chitral was invaded by a Chinese army in concert with the ruler of Badakhshan, Mirza Sultan Shah. The Chitralis, unable to offer any effective resistance, fled to Mastooch, which was shortly invested by the invaders. The fort was strong, and Khush Amad, who belonged to the Maulai sect, followed the advice of his Caliphas, who counselled him to content himself with a passive resistance, and not to offer battle in the field. The besiegers, trusting to starvation to give them possession of the fort, were satisfied with establishing a blockade. They were, meanwhile, harassed by Khush Amad's partizans outside the fort, who inflicted some loss on them by feigning submission and leading them into an ambush among the mountains. At the end of seven months, both parties being willing to make terms, an envoy from the besiegers was admitted into the fort, and several tricks were played on both sides to give an impression of their readiness to continue the war. On the envoy entering the fort, he was made to wait some time, in order that the reason of his coming might be explained to the Mihtar, who was still

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1773 unaware that his fort was being besieged. The envoy on his part, while awaiting an audience, distributed powder and lead to any of the garrison who chose to take it, by way of showing the super-abundance of warlike stores in the besiegers' camp. On being admitted he was invited to partake of the meal which the Mihtar's attendants shared with him daily. Double the usual amount of food was brought for consumption, and served out by a man whose hands were clotted with blood, as if he had not cleansed them since the fray of the day before. No remark was made, and each devoured his portion, as if the taste of an enemy's blood was no new thing to them, which caused the astonished envoy to regard them as cannibals. Terms were ultimately agreed to, and the invaders retired, taking with them four hostages. As they passed Ilwp, in Yarkhoon, each man of the invading army cast down a stone to show their numbers. The great heap thus formed is still pointed out. Very shortly after this Khush Amad died.

This tradition is interesting, as helping to identify Chitral with the Bolor of Chinese records; the following account of Bolor is translated by M. Klaproth from the Chinese Imperial Geography, published in 1790 :—[1]

Bolor.

"Ce pays est situé au nord-ouest de Yarkiang et à l'ouest de Badakchchân. Le chemin par lequel nos tribus arrivent à Pékin, est le même que celui des autres pays Mahométans. Sous les Han, le Bolor faisait partie d'Ou-sihn, nom les Grecs, d'après la prononciation d'*A Lexandrie*.

"En 1749, son prince, Chahhim Chamsé (pour Arsi Chahim Chah Amad) se soumit aux Chinois, et son pays fut enclavé dans ses limites. L'année suivante, il envoya Chah Ismâ comme ambassadeur à l'empereur, qui le reçut avec bienveillance l'invita à un festin et lui fit remettre un diplôme pour son maître.

"En 1763, un autre ambassade apporta le tribut consistant en valeurs et broches d'argent. L'année après ce pays fut envahi par Sultan-chah de Badakchchân; alors le prince de Bolor demanda du secours au général chinois qui commandait à Yarkiang. Celui-ci expédia à Sultan-chah d'Ourgout le Bolor et de faire cesser les hostilités. Le roi de Badakchchân se conforma à cet ordre, et Chahhim Chamsé donna une lettre de remerciement. Les deux administrateurs accompagnèrent des ambassadeurs et le tribut à l'empereur, consistant en perigueuls, qui sont d'excellente qualité chez eux.

"En 1769, un nouveau tribut de pierres de jade et de perigueuls arriva de Bolor, et depuis ce temps il a toujours été offert à l'époque prescrite."

Consanguinity did not prevent constant wars between the rulers of Chitral and Yasin, but the records of these wars contain little worthy of notice. The Khush Waktí seems to have

[1] Mémoire Asiatiques, Vol. 2, page 98.

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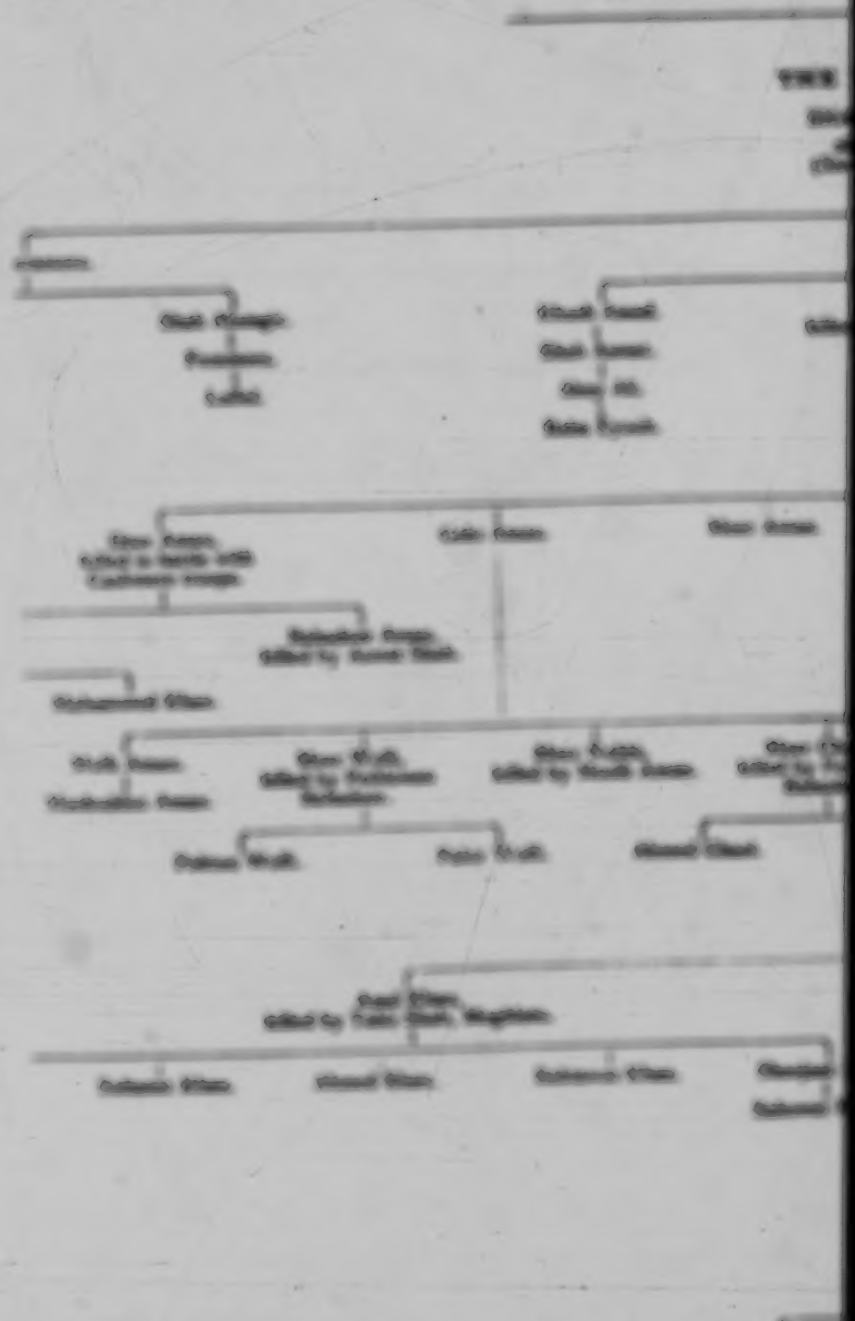
173 NEALOGY OF THE KHUSHWAKTE (YASSIN)



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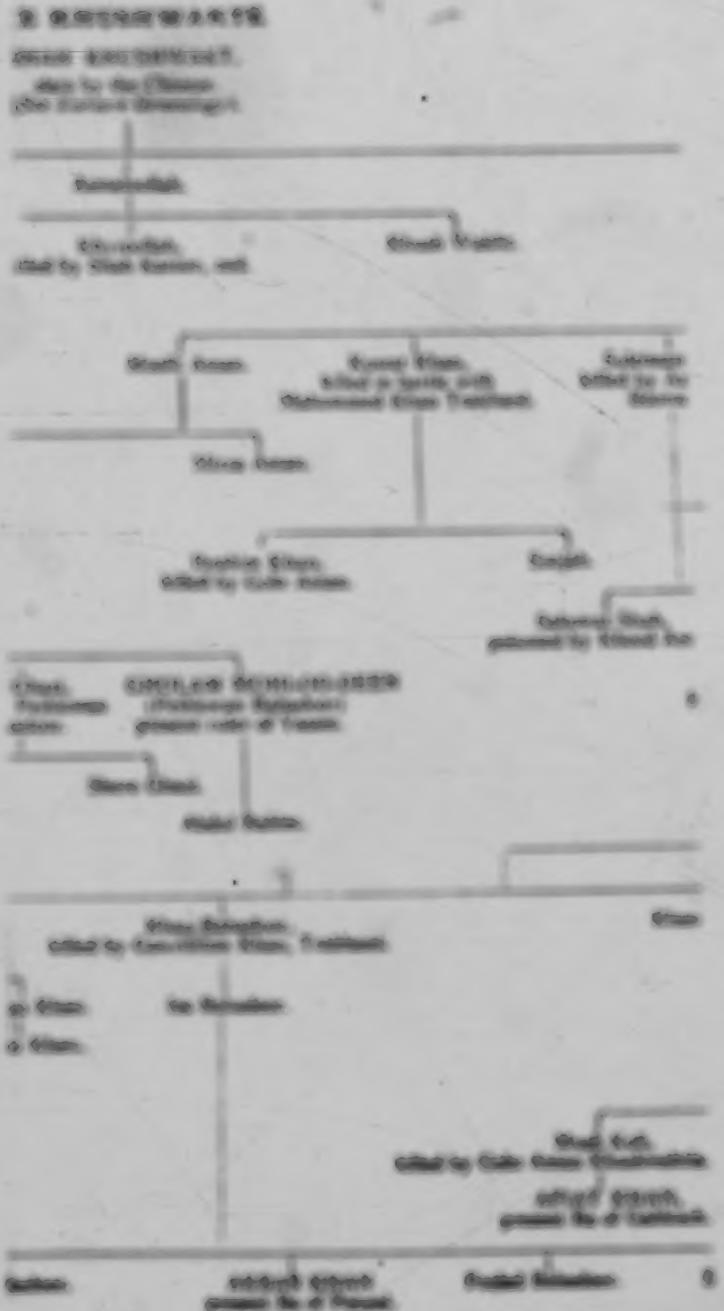
AND THE BOOROOSHE (PONYAL).



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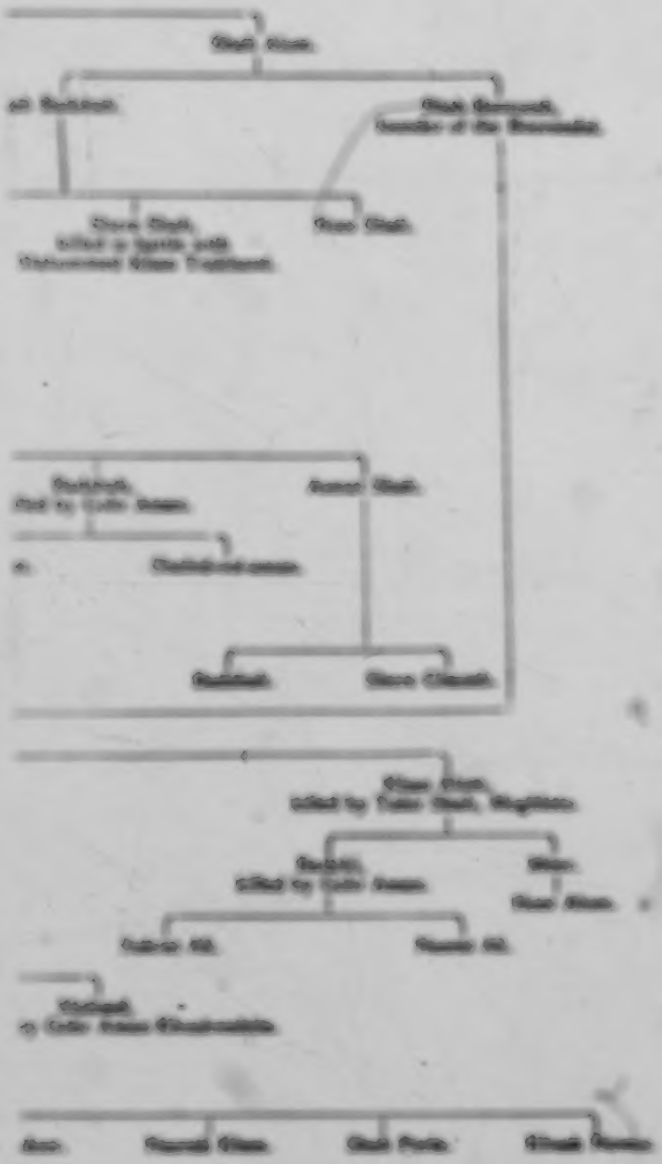

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shown the greater warlike skill, but this advantage was balanced by the superior wealth and population of Chitral. Suleiman Shah, whose conquest of Gilgit has been already mentioned,[1] for a short time bid fair to found a considerable principality, but the incapacity for organisation, which seems to form so essential a part of all minds thoroughly imbued with Mahommedan tenets, prevented him from making any adequate use of his victories. Eastward he made himself master of the right bank of the Indus as far as Haramookh, and forced Ahmed Shah of Iskardo to acknowledge his supremacy. Boonji, which was then a flourishing place and formed part of the Iskardo domains, was twice besieged by him, the first time unsuccessfully, the second time it fell after a siege of eleven months, during which Shah Katoor of Chitral, taking advantage of Suleiman's absence, laid siege to Mastooch. Suleiman Shah, by a masterly march through the mountains, entered Dranna, cutting off Shah Katoor from his capital, and forced him to fight at a disadvantage a series of actions in which he was defeated, and his son Mookurrub Shah slain. Being without resources, Shah Katoor threw himself on the mercy of his victorious foe. Taking with him his wife, a sister of his conqueror, he made his way on foot and unattended to the camp of Suleiman Shah, who received him generously and allowed him to return to Chitral after swearing friendship.

During his residence in Gilgit, which lasted seven years, Suleiman Shah, in concert with Ghazunfur Khan of Hunza, invaded Nagar and made himself master of the whole country, with the exception of a single fort. During the siege, a false alarm one night caused a disastrous loss of men, who fell by the hands of their own comrades, and the siege was abandoned next day.

After the loss of Gilgit[2] his power rapidly waned. A severe earthquake levelled his fort of Mastooch, and this mishap was at once taken advantage of by Shah Katoor. The Yassin force under Sakowat Shah, eldest son of Suleiman Shah, was defeated at Gushi in the Laspoor Valley, and Sakowat Shah himself was treacherously murdered by his cousin Khosul Aman, who introduced poison into a wound received by him in the fight. Shah Katoor followed up his advantage by invading Yassin, and was aided in the invasion by a Badukhshan or Wakhan force under Kokan Beg. Suleiman

[1] See page 139. [2] See page 138.

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173 Shah was, however, able to sow dissension between the allies who retired to Chitral, and there Shah Katoor put Kokan Beg to death by casting him from a high rock into the foaming river and disarmed his followers.

Suleiman Shah was, however, doomed to fall by treachery equal to that which he had himself so freely employed. Rahmat-oollah Khan, his half-brother, born of a slave mother, conspired with Azad Khan and introduced a Gilgiti force into the castle of Cher, in Ponyal, where Suleiman Shah was residing. After defending himself for two days in a tower of the fort with no aid but that of his sons and a few servants, Suleiman Shah surrendered, and after a month's imprisonment, was put to death by Azad Khan. He was succeeded by Meer Aman, who ruled in Yassin for nearly eleven years, till he was ousted in 1840 by his brother Gohr Aman, whose wars against the Sikhs and Dogras have been already related by Mr. Drew and Dr. Leitner.

The annals of the Katooré branch of the family are of even less interest than those of the Khush Wakté. They seem to have produced no warrior or administrator of any pretensions, while their records abound in treachery and murder committed by son against father, and brother against brother. No attempt seems to have been made to weld the whole of the Katooré possessions into one principality, but each ruler in turn, by dividing the country during his lifetime among his sons, has directly encouraged the continuance of the family quarrels and intrigues.

In Cunningham G-S (1862-67) 1854 Alt W. Tibetan 954.67 Alt

197 The *Khajunak* dialect is spoken by the people of Hunza and Nager.

The *Arnéya* is spoken in Yasin and Chitrál.

These dialects have little in common with each other, and are widely different from those of the surrounding people.

634 *Astor* is situated on the left bank of the Indus, below Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. It has an area of about 1,800
• 173 square miles. Its chief claims descent from Ali Sher of Balti, and takes the title of Makpon.

634 *Gilgit** is situated on the right bank of the Indus, along the lower course of the Gilgit river. It is about 100 miles long from north to south, with a mean breadth of twenty-six miles. Its area is therefore about 2,500
173 square miles. The chief takes the title of Trakhna, from an ancestor.

634 The districts of Chilas, Darél, Kohli, and Pálas, lie along both banks of the Indus below Gilgit and Astor.

Hunza-Nager is a small tract of country on the upper course of a large feeder of the Gilgit river. It is named from two towns situated close to each other, on opposite banks of the river. The two districts have an area of
101 1,672 square miles. The chief of Hunza is called
634 Girkhis, and the chief of Nager is called Mágulato. The former name is no doubt the same as the Kirghis, who inhabit the steppes of Pamer to the north of Hunza-Nager beyond the Kárákoram. I presume that this district was formerly inhabited by the Dards, and that they were displaced by the Kirghis nomads. The chiefs of Shigar who take the Khajunak title of Tham, must also be Kirghis.

634 *Yasin* is a large district on the upper course of the

* In Tibetan *Gyil-gyid*.

Gilgit river. It is seventy miles long from south-east to north-west, with a mean breadth of sixty miles. Its area is therefore about 4,200 square miles. The chief places are Tamas and Chatorkun. The chief takes the title of Bukhto, which is the name of his tribe.

When Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded India in A.D. 1000, the people of Gilgit, Astor, and Chilas were Turks, who spoke the Turki language.* These Turks were of the *Khaldaseri* tribe, and their king took the title of *Shahi Khal*, or king of the *Khalo* tribe. I presume that these are the same as the Bukhto of the present day; but their language has become mixed with that of all the surrounding people, and no longer bears any affinity to Turki.

Chitral is a large district on the upper course of the Kunar river. The king takes the title of Shah Katur, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian kings in the Kabul valley.

The large and interesting country of Kashmir, and the small principalities of the Alpine Panjáb to the south of Ladák, are too numerous to be treated of in this place.

To the east and south-east of Ladák lie the Chinese districts of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Nguri.

Rudok lies immediately to the east of Ladák and Rukchu, but its climate is like that of the latter district. The principal feature of Rudok is the great Pang-kong lake, which stretches through the whole length of the country from east to west, a distance of about eighty miles. As the mean breadth is about sixty miles, the

* Reinaud's *Fragmens Arabes*, &c. p. 117.